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Or

The Homage of Indology

Being

The Dr. Lakshman Sarup Memorial Volume

Edited by

JAGAN NATH AGRAWAL,
M.A.

and

BHIM DEV SHASTRI,
M.A., M.O.L.

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सरूपभारती भाति यस्येयं स्मारिका सती ।
श्रीलक्ष्मणसरूपोऽयं भारती-सेवकः सुधीः ॥

The General Editor's Note

This is the sixth volume that is being issued by our Institute in its Viśveśvarānanda Bhārata-bhāratī Granthamālā (Vishveshvaranand Indological Series)[1] which is devoted to the publication of works embodying research in any aspect or aspects of Indian culture, in general, including studies in language, literature, philosophy, religion, history, physical, biological and social sciences, arts, and other allied subjects.

The present writer had the privilege of subscribing to the following circular letter of invitation for literary collaboration which was issued on November 1, 1951, in connection with the present volume :--

"The late lamented Dr. Lakshman Sarup, M.A. (Pb.), D. Phil. (Oxon) O.d'A. (Fr.), University Professor of Sanskrit and Principal, Orienta College, Lahore rendered very valuable services to the cause of Orienta Studies, in general, and Vedic Philology, in particular. An earnest and labo rious student, he did good and extensive work on his edition and translatio of *Nirukta*, edition of Commentaries on it by Skanda and Maheśvara an edition of Veṅkaṭa Mādhava's Gloss on Ṛgveda.

"With a view to honour, in a befitting manner, the sacred memory (that great devotee of Indian Studies, the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Researcl Institute has undertaken to bring out a Commemoration Volume under th joint editorship of Prof. Jagan Nath, M.A., of the Punjab University Sanskri Department and Prof. Bhim Dev Shastri, M.A., M.O.L. of this Institute.

"It may be mentioned here that Prof. Jagan Nath had planned an also, arranged, early in 1947, to bring out a Commemoration Volume like th from Lahore, but, unfortunately, the displacement which was soon caus by the catastrophic partition of Punjab made it impossible for that scheme materialise at the time.

"In cordially inviting you to contribute to the Volume a learned paper medium size, about a dozen typed foolscap pages, on some topic of yc specialised Indian Studies and written in Sanskrit, Hindi or English, it is be requested that the paper may kindly be made to reach here by or bef

1. This serial was started with the publication in it, in November 1950, of *Sa Bharati* (The Rosary of Indology) being the Dr. Siddheshwar Varma Presentation Vol in two parts, issued as the Volumes I and II of it. Three other works, namely, *Pur viṣaya-samanukramaṇikā* (A Concordance of Purāṇa Contents) by the late Shri Yas Tandan, *Gaṇikāvṛtta-saṅgraha* (Texts on Courtezens in Classical Sanskrit) by Dr. Lud Sternbach, and *The Etymologies of Yaska* by Dr. Siddheshwar Varma have also since appeare the Volumes III, IV, and V, respectively, of this serial.

the end of March, 1952. Meanwhile, a line in reply, at your earliest convenience, intimating your kind acceptance of this invitation will be very much appreciated.

"It has been decided that each author whose contribution will be published in the Volume, should be presented with a Complimentary Copy of the Volume along with twenty-five reprints of his own paper."

The response to the above invitation was, as expected, quite satisfactory. By the end of August, 1952, the papers selected for inclusion in this Volume had been checked and arranged, but the Institute Press could not start printing it before April, 1953, by which time, at last, it had succeeded in procuring a requisite supply of good paper for this purpose.

A few points relating to the editorial technique followed in the preparation of this volume may be severally stated as under :

(1) All the papers have been thoroughly and critically read and checked.

(2) In some cases, liberty has been taken in scrapping or altering certain portions towards effecting proper consolidation and necessary abridgement. The scholars concerned, it is to be hoped, will approve of what has been done in this direction.

(3) Textual citations and references in the papers proper as well as in the footnotes to the same have been carefully checked and, wherever necessary, corrected with the help of original authorities

(4) Text-citations were given by some of the authors in the Roman script and by the rest in the Nāgarī script. All these, however, have been uniformly presented here in the latter script, the tedious labour involved in the process of transcription notwithstanding.

(5) Footnotes, generally appended by the authors at the end of their respective papers have been uniformly brought to the foot of each connected page, but the original sequence of their enumeration which ran into three figures in many cases, being actually 267 in one case, has been retained. It is to be hoped that increasing as it does the referential facility of the footnotes, this change should add to their practical utility.

(6) Titles of books referred to and the abbreviations employed in place of them have been checked, corrected and rendered uniform.

(7) A large number of footnotes have been recast towards having a uniform method of mentioning authorities, *viz*, names of authors and books referred to and the textual references related to them.

(8) Different printing types have been employed to bring distinct catagories of materials into proper relief.

(9) The divergence found in several papers in respect of the use of various diacritical marks has been removed and uniformity in this matter has been effected throughout.

10) The Lineal System of Vedic accentuation as set into vogue in our Concordance[1] has been uniformly followed here in marking accents in the Vedic text-citations.

(11) The papers have been classified subject-wise and are being presented under five section-heads. Accordingly, a glance at the Contents should show how much and what material on a particular subject could be found here.

(12) The exhaustive General Index supplied at the end should prove to be the most useful and, therefore, welcome instrument that could readily and distinctly bring to the notice of the reader every bit of referable or workable research material contained in the Volume.

The most pleasant duty, now, of the undersigned is very thankfully to acknowledge the great and devoted care which the learned Editors, Professors Jagan Nath and Bhim Dev have exercised in very ably editing this Volume and seeing it through the press to his own utmost relief in the performance of his part in this behalf as the General Editor of the Series. He also thanks Prof. Ramanand and Shri Durga Datt for their effective collaboration in correcting the proofs and Professor Dev Datt, the Superintendent and Shri Revata Ram, the Manager, respectively, of the Institute Press for having spared no pains in printing the Volume neatly and in binding it well. In the end, he begs to offer, on behalf of the Institute Management and on his own behalf, sincerest thanks to the friends, listed in the sequel, who have sent in a few donations to lighten, to some extent, the financial burden of the Institute in meeting the cost of producing this volume and to the distinguished scholars who by having been pleased to contribute their valuable papers have helped the Institute successfully to accomplish this culturally obligatory and spiritually energizing self-imposed task of making this humble offering to the sacred memory of the late Dr. Laksman Sarup. May the remembrance, through the pages of this Volume of the great and distinguished services that he rendered to the cause of learning continue for ever to inspire all sincere cultural aspirants of to-day and to-morrow to render the best account of themselves to the best of their lights and to the best of their motives !

V. V. R. INSTITUTE, VISHVA BANDHU
HOSHIARPUR.
December 11, 1953.

1. For a description and evaluation of the several accentual systems, see our *A Vedic Word-Concordance*, Vol. I. pp. LXIII ff. and CXVIII ff. (available in reprint also, under the title Vishva Bandhu, *Vaidika-svarāṅkana-rīti-prakāśa*)

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DR. LAKSHMAN SARUP:

A Sketch of His Life and Work

By

JAGAN NATH

Dr. Lakshman Sarup was born on the 15th January, 1894 at Kairana, in Muzaffarnagar District of Uttar Pradesh. Shortly after his birth, his father Shri Bindraban shifted to Ferozepore in Punjab and the boy received his early education here. After passing the Entrance Examination of the Punjab University, he joined the D.A.V. College, Lahore from where he graduated in 1913. He then joined the Oriental College, Lahore and passed his M.A. Examination in Sanskrit, in 1915. He worked in the D.A.V. College as a lecturer in Sanskrit for a few months before the Government of India awarded him, in 1916, a State Scholarship for study abroad.

He joined the Balliol College in the University of Oxford and worked there under the guidance of Prof. A. A. Macdonell for four years (1916–1920). The subject selected by him for his thesis was the study of Yāska's *Nirukta*—the oldest Indian treatise on etymology, philology and semantics. He prepared, for the first time, a critical edition of that text and an English translation of it together with a learned introduction and exegetical notes in which he made a comparative study of the contributions of the ancient Indians and Greeks to the science of linguistics. His work was very much appreciated and he was awarded the Degree of Doctor of Philology. During his stay at Oxford, he was also attached to the British Ministry of Information. After the close of the first World War, he went to France and was associated with Professor Sylvain Lévi in the work of re-organising the University of Strassburg. He spent sometime at the University of Paris, and also visited a few important centres of learning in Germany and Holland.

In 1920, he joined the University of the Punjab as Professor of Sanskrit Literature and the work on *Nirukta* commenced at Oxford was continued here. Besides preparing the work, entitled, "*The Indices and Appendices* [to] *Nirukta*" he also engaged himself in preparing a critical edition of the voluminous commentary of Skandasvamin and Maheśvara on *Nirukta*. This work took a long time, the last volume of it being published in 1938.

During all these years, he was keenly interested in the study of French literature and took an active part in organising a French study circle known as the Minerva Club. He also translated into Hindi the two plays

Le Malade Imaginaire (Imaginary Invalid) and *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (Bourgeois Gentleman) by the great French dramatist, Moliere. In recognition of these services, the French Government conferred upon him the title of Officer d' Academie Francaise, which distinction he was probably the first to receive in India. The first of these two works also brought him a prize at the hands of the Government of Punjab.

In 1942, he was appointed the Principal of the University Oriental College, Lahore. He was the first Indian Sanskritist to occupy that position of distinction. His appointment was hailed with great enthusiasm by the Sanskrit scholars of Punjab, and a special programme of felicitations was arranged in his honour by his old students and friends on the 28th November, 1943. Dr. Gokul Chand Narang in his presidential remarks said that by appointing Dr. Lakshman Sarup as Principal of the Oriental College, the Punjab University had honoured itself. On 30th November 1943, the Sanskrit Play, *Svapnavasavadattam* of Bhasa was staged by the Sanskrit students of various colleges. Bakshi Dr. Sir Tek Chand, who presided over this function, advised the Sanskritists to make the staging of Sanskrit plays a permanent feature as a means of popularising Sanskrit. Dr. Lakshman Sarup accordingly arranged the staging of a Sanskrit play every year after that.

He was associated with the various academic and administrative bodies of the University as a Fellow, a Member of the Academic Council, an Ex-Officio Member of the Oriental Faculty, a Member of the Boards of Studies in Sanskrit, French and Teaching, a Member of the Punjab University Library Committee, the Convener of the Committee of Control in Sanskrit, the Secretary of the Oriental College Council and the Administrator of the Punjab University Oriental Publication Fund. Besides holding these offices in the University, he actively participated in various other bodies devoted to the advancement of learning and culture. He was a Rotarian, the Founder-President of the Punjab University Sanskrit Society and the Sāhityagoṣṭhī, a Life Member of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, and a Member of the Executive Council and the Treasurer of the All-India Oriental Conference.

His contribution to Oriental Studies was twofold, namely, through his own publications and through the impetus that these studies received under his inspiring guidance. It was at his suggestion that the Punjab University introduced thesis in the M.A. Examination in Sanskrit from 1932. As a result of this, more than a hundred theses were written by the students under his direct guidance and supervision. That he was very keenly interested in the development of Hindi literature through original contributions as well as through translations from other languages is shown by his

having bequeathed a sum of fifteen thousand rupees to the Banaras Hindu University towards this specific object.

He was an excellent teacher, very conscientious of his studies and punctual to a second. He would never come to the class late, nor would he stop teaching even a minute before the time. Once the Vice-Chancellor wanted to speak to him on the telephone, but he curtly declined, saying that he could not leave his class before the period was over. He was very kind to his students, and once he was convinced of their sincerity and genuine devotion to studies, he would help them in all possible ways. Many poor students were recepients of monetary help from him, both at the Lahore University and in England. He was quite unostentatious in his ways and would never try to show himself off. He was endowed with great humility, worthy of a true scholar and treated his subordinates with great courtesy and affection.

He had a good health and never suffered from any protracted illness. In his younger days, he had been fond of tennis and boating. He used to go out for long walks daily. That was perhaps the secret of his good health and enabled him to put in hard-work—ten hours per day on an average. But his domestic life was not happy. He had lost a number of children, some in the prime of their youth. This coupled with overwork and mental worry which was caused by the communal intrigues in the University life during the years 1938—42, undermined his health. After the age of 45, he became diabetic and suffered from weakness of heart but he still carried on literary activity with unabated zeal. The end was, however, quite unexpected. On the morning of 26th October, 1946, he returned, apparently hale and hearty, from the Nagpur session of the All-India Oriental Conference and the same afternoon, at about 3 p.m., he died of heart-failure. The fatal attack came so suddenly that he expired before any medical aid could be rendered.

A list of his writings follows:—

(a) Books

1. *An Introduction to Nirukta*, Oxford, 1920. It discusses the question of authorship of *Nighaṇṭu* and *Nirukta* and the date of Yāska and his contribution to the science of etymology, philology and semantics.
2. *Nirukta*, translated into English, London, 1921. Besides being a complete translation, it is furnished with exegetical and critical notes, evaluation of Indian and Greek contribution to linguistics and a number of useful referential appendices.
3. *Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta*, Punjab University, Lahore, 1927, being the first critical edition, based on a very large number of manuscripts.

4. *Indices and Appendices to Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta*, P. U.. Lahore, 1929, with introduction.

5. *Fragments of the Commentaries of Skandaswamin and Mahes'vara on Nirukta*, P.U., Lahore, 1928. It is a critical edition of the commentaries on the Chapter I of *Nirukta*.

6-7 *Commentaries of Skandaswāmin and Mahes'vara on Nirukta*, 2 vols., P. U., Lahore, 1931 and 1934, chapters II –XII of *Nirukta*. It is supplied with an exhaustive introduction.

8. *Ṛgarthadīpikā*, on *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* by Madhava, son of S'rī Veṅkaṭarya (a pre-Sāyaṇa and hitherto unpublished commentary), Vols. I–III, published by Moti Lal, Banarsi Das, Lahore, 1939, 1940, 1943. Besides being a critical edition of the commentary, it is supplied in its footnotes with comparative data of interpretations from all available Vedic commentators. The work was a part of the laborious 8-volume project of Vedic studies—viz. six vols. to be devoted to completing the commentary and the last two to a general introduction and a complete English translation, respectively.

9. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV was in the press when the learned editor suddenly expired in 1946.

10-11 *Ibid.*, Vols. V and VI (unpublished). The manuscript was destroyed during the terrible happenings that followed the partition of Punjab in 1947.

12. *The Vision of Vāsavadattā* (Svapnavāsavadattam) of Bhāsa, critical edition with English translation and notes, Lahore, 1925.

13. *Kalyāṇasaugandhika* of Nīlakaṇṭha, critically edited, Lahore.

14. Editio Princeps of *Ambikā-pariṇaya-campū* of Tirumalāmbā, Lahore.

15. *Thirteen Trivandrum Plays*, translated into English in collaboration with Dr. A. C. Woolner, Lahore, 1930.

16. Life and work of *Moliere*, Lahore.

17. *Vahmī Rogī*, being a translation of Moliere's play *Le Malade Imaginaire*, Lahore.

18-19. *Nala-Damayantī*, a drama, in Hindi and Urdu, Delhi, 1945.

20. *Candragupta*, a drama, in Hindi, Delhi, 1946.

21. A complete concordance of the S'rauta and Gṛhya Sutras extra-Mantra portions (unpublished).

22. A complete Pāda-Index of Classical Sanskrit poetry (unpublished).

23. A critical edition of commentaries of Mādhava and Bharataswāmin on *Sāmaveda Saṁhitā* (unpublished).

(b) Articles

24. *Notes on the Nirukta*, Indian Antiquary, 1921.
25. *Some Aspects of Slavery*, Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, Vol. VIII.
26. *Romantic Movement in French Literature*, Modern Review, 1923.
27. *History of the Burning Glass*, Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, Vol. IX.
28. *Study of Sanskrit Literature in Schools*, Proceedings of the Punjab Educational Conference, 1926.
29. *A Newly Discovered Prose Romance*, Proceedings of the Fifth All-India Oriental Conference, Lahore, 1928.
30. *The Queen Poetess of Vijayanagara*, Festschrift M. Winternitz, Leipzig.
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Dr. Lakshman Sarup: Personal Reminiscences and Appreciations

(1)

I came to know of Dr. Sarup, for the first time, in 1920, at Oxford, from the late Prof. A. A. Macdonell. He had already taken his Degree and returned to India. Both of us worked under the supervision of the same Professor, namely, the late Dr. Macdonell. Later, when I returned to India, I met him at the All-India Oriental Conference at Madras at the end of 1924. From that time onwards, we had been meeting at all the sessions of that Conference and we had also occasion to conduct some of the examinations of the University of Punjab together. Our work had been in the same field and from the time when we first met each other, we were on very intimate terms, writing to each other, exchanging manuscripts and discussing points arising out of our research work. We sometimes differed radically in the indentification, the chronology and the interpretation of authors and works and in the inferences to be drawn from the same. Such differences in our views made our relations much more intimate than what they would have been if we had little to discuss about. Thus, I knew Dr. Sarup not merely from his literary contribution but, also, personally and in a very intimate way. He was keeping indifferent health and, in later years, he had been carrying with him medicines and had also to take injections wherever he went. He had to suffer much in his private life. But he bore everything with fortitude. His personal discomforts never deterred him from doing his research work with ardour and devotion and he was always a very hospitable friend, extremely courteous and pleasant.

He was a specialist. *Ṛgveda* and *Nirukta,* in particular, took up a major part of his time. But he was not narrow in his outlook: his contribution to the Bhāsa problem and his interest in the earliest period in the history of India were very noteworthy. His editions of the commentary of Mādhava, son of Veṅkatārya, on *Ṛgveda* and of the commentaries of Skanda and Maheśvara on *Nirukta,* along with his edition and translation of *Nirukta* and the index of *Nirukta* will go down to history as monuments of methodical collection of facts and careful arrangement of them as foot-notes that can do credit to any scholar. His introductions also reveal his deep scholarship.

Books were his companions. Scholarship was his life. But his specialisation and his absorption in study never affected his human nature,

and I know that he was a popular student of Balliol at Oxford and a sociable figure in the Punjab University. He was a very prominent personality in the All-India Oriental Conference. His merits as a scholar had been appreciated in foreign countries, also, and he received honours from foreign centres of scholarly activities like Paris. I know in what esteem the late Dr. Woolner held him for his scholarship and devotion to studies, and he always found in him a very reliable collaborator. In him I had a colleague whom I ever regarded as my senior in all respects and, also, as a very dear friend. He was an inspiration to me, always helpful in my research work. No one who has come into contact with him, even casually, will forget his courteous manners, pleasant bearing and charming friendship. In him we had a scholar and a gentleman. He has left behind him a large number of students whom he had trained and who all revered him and also loved him. I miss his bodily presence; but I can never miss his inspiration.

C. KUNHAN RAJA,
Professor of Sanskrit, University of Tehran, Iran, 7, 9, 1953.

(2)

It is, I think, fitting that among the voices paying homage to the memory of Dr. Sarup, a word should come from Paris where he spent some time, sitting at the feet of that genial scholar and beloved master, Sylvain Lévi. That was long ago, I am tempted to say, beyond the frontiers of memory. Still, one small but significant incident of that period I may be permitted to recall, which struck me all the more as it happened in my studio. Principal Woolner was present; and as both were speaking together, I remember hearing Dr. Sarup asking his master, "How long is it you left India? Was it three, or four years"? What Woolner said, I forget now. Then, Sarup added, "You would not recognise India now; there have been so many changes since that time".

I will not dilate on our pleasant meetings, nor eulogize his work. But two things I may point out, which I think our guru, Sylvain Lévi would have appreciated. The first is that after his return to India, Dr. Sarup did not stop work. On the contrary, he vigorously went deeper and deeper in the study of *Nirukta* and the literature depending upon it and, as such, he left a vast and solid monument, which will long be associated with his name and which is honourable to India. So many of his compatriots we have seen, taking advantage of a passage to Europe to get a degree, and of the degree to get a University chair, and then deserting scholarly research.

Another thing: a Frenchman cannot forget the care he took to assimilate himself French culture with a view to enriching India with its be

creations. We owe to him—I owe to him—a clever translation of the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, with an essay on Moliere, which I eventually read with my pupils. For this, too, we have here to be grateful to him.

JULES BLOCH,
Paris, 24, 7, 1952.

(3)

It was my privilege to know intimately the late Dr. Laksman Sarup. He devoted himself life-long to Vedic research and brought out a critical edition of *Nirukta* with English rendering and a hitherto unpublished commentary. Of his critical edition of *Ṛgartha-Dīpikā*, a pre-Sayaṇa commentary of *Ṛgveda*, he could finish only three volumes. He was elected President of the Vedic Section of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Mysore. His work on Vedic exegesis bears the stamp of his learning and industry, and his admiration of English and French literatures is reflected in his translations of Bhāsa's plays in English and of Moliere's plays in Hindi. He was a happy blend of the Orient and the Occident. He impressed not only by his learning, but, also, by his uniform courtesy, encouragement to students, true spirit of service and personal attraction which will be gratefully remembered by his colleagues and others who came into contact with him.

M. S. Vats,
Deptt. of Archaeology, New Delhi, 17, 7, 1952.

(4)

It was in 1932 in connection with the Bhāsa Problem which I was then tackling that I first came in contact with Dr. Sarup through correspondence. To my queries with regard to his latest views on some aspects of the Bhāsa problem, he sent a prompt reply, stating his views in brief. I had occasion to write to him several times later on about the Indus Valley Civilisation, and he was always kind enough to send replies to my queries. I could see in him a genuine desire to encourage and help young scholars. I began to attend the sessions of the Oriental Conference, regularly, since the Trivandrum Session in 1937, but it was only at Nagpur in 1946, that I came in personal contact with Dr. Sarup. It was a great pleasure to be in his company all along the excursion to Ramtek. He was quite jolly and humorous. He evinced keen interest in my studies, and desired to have off-prints of my articles.

He was a great scholar of Vedic literature and his researches in that field were internationally recognised. He worked on *Nirukta* for his Docto-

rate and his thoroughness may be seen in the fact that in this connection, he studied Greek and Indian contribution to linguistics. His critical edition of *Nirukta* with introduction, notes, and English translation is a standard work His *magnum opus*, however, was the commentary of Venkaṭa-Mādhava on *Ṛgveda*, which he edited, giving complete and exegetical notes. Though the whole text was ready, only three volumes could be published in his life-time, and it was a great misfortune that he did not live to see the complete publication of this work. His Presidential Address to the Vedic Section of the Mysore Oriental Conference dealt with the interesting problem of the relation of *Ṛgveda* with the Indus Valley Civilisation, boldly putting forth his views running counter to the accepted theories.

Besides Vedic Studies, Dr. Sarup was interested in Classical Sanskrit and published scholarly editions of Sanskrit texts including *Svapnava-savadatta* (*Vision of Vasadatta*) and *Varadambika-pariṇaya Campu*. He collaborated with the late Dr. A C. Woolner in producing an English translation of Bhāsa's plays which appeared as *Thirteen Trivandrum Plays*. He published several articles in Oriental Journals and elsewhere. He was a great scholar of French literature, too, and was the first Indian to be made Officier de Academie Francaise.

A. D. Pusalkar,
Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, 5, 10, 1953.

(5)

I did not have many opportunities to come in contact with the late Dr. L. Sarup but we did meet now and then and exchanged our views on Sanskrit studies etc. He was the author of a number of books which elicited the appreciation of not only Indian scholars but also that of European Orientalists. I had the privilege of writing a foreword to one of his translations of French dramas. I always held him in high respect for his great learning and high character. He was deservedly popular among his colleagues and students and all those who came in contact with him.

G. C. Narang,
New Delhi, 12, 7, 1952.

(6)

कुशाग्रधीर्वेदविचारदक्षो,
निरुक्तशास्त्रार्णवकर्णधारः ।
बुधः प्रकाण्डो धृतिमान् गुणज्ञः,
कासौ सुधीर्लक्ष्मणरूपराशिः ॥१॥

क सा सौम्या मूर्तिः क च सरसगोष्ठी सुरनदी,
क सा सभ्ये वर्गे ललितललिताऽऽभापरणततिः ।
क सा भव्या विद्या बुधजनमनोद्योतनकरी,
क तत् सत्पाण्डित्यं निखिलनिगमार्थोपगमकम् ॥२॥

परमानन्दः,
भटिण्डा, ८, १०, १९५३

(7)

स्वभावाद् गम्भीरो सुदृढ-नय-धीरः प्रगतिमान्,
यशः-शाली विद्वान् स्व-जन-परिपाली स्थिरमतिः ।
प्रसन्नो मन्दारः यदपि परुषो रोष-विमुखः,
सदा चञ्चद्-रूपो व्यजयत सरूपोऽत्र भुवि सः ॥१॥

निरुक्तं सस्कन्दं समुद्धृत-वेदान् नवनवैः,
सुभाष्यैर्दुष्प्रापैश्चतुर इतिहासं च विरलम् ।
स्वयं कुर्वन्नेवं निजसुमतिशिष्येष्वपि रुचिं,
गविष्टेः कार्येऽस्मिन् समजनयदेषोऽति निभृतम् ॥२॥

श्रीमान(न्-श्र)मान-महिमानमुपागतोऽसौ,
भाति स्म लक्ष्मणसरूपमहोदयोऽत्र ।
यत् किञ्चनोदितमनेन पदं पुरस्तात्,
शेके तदन्यथयितुं भुवि कः परस्तात् ॥३॥

विज्ञान् विज्ञान-विज्ञान् श्रुतितति-निरतान् प्राच्य-पाश्चात्य-भाजाम्,
वाचामाचार्यवर्यान् सहृदय-हृदयान् भारती-भारतीशान् ।
मुक्तान् मुक्तान्यशोकान् सुकृति-सुकृतिनो भा-समान् भासमानान्,
भूयो भूयो न भूमिर्जनयति तनयान् स्वान् सरूपानुरूपान् ॥४॥

परमानन्दः,
जालन्धर, १४, ६, १९५३

SECTION I
Philological Studies

Sanskrit Etymological Notes

By

T. BURROW, *Oxford.*

1. *kaṭaka-* 'hill-side, ridge'

Attention is drawn in *TPS* 1946, pp. 17 and 21 to a fluctuation between surd and sonant in certain Sanskrit words borrowed from Dravidian. This reflects Dravidian conditions, since in all the Dravidian languages, except Tamil and Malayalam, there is a widespread but sporadic voicing of initial plosives (DSI, *BSOS* ix, pp. 711-722). Thus, we find Skt. *kulpha-* : *gulpha-* 'ankle'; Pkt. *khuluha-* : *guppha-* id.; Ta. *kuḷampu* 'hoof', Ka. *koḷagu, koṇagu* id.; Skt. *karta-, kāṭa-* : *garta* 'hole'; Pkt. *khaḍḍā-* : *gaḍḍa-* id.; Ka. *kaḍḍa* 'a pitfall to catch elephants'; Skt. *kuñcikā-* : *guñjā-* 'Abrus precatorius,' Ta. *kunṟi*, Ma. *kunni* id.[1]; Skt. *kanduka-* 'ball' : *geṇḍu-, geṇḍuka-, genduka-* id.; Pkt. *kanduka-* : *geṇḍua-, gendua-, jheṇḍua-* id.; Ta. Ma. *ceṇṭu*; Ka. Tu. Te. *ceṇḍu* id. The same relation also appears to exist between Skt. *karkarī-* 'waterpot' and Pkt. *gaggarī* id. (cf. Skt. *karaka-, kararika-, karka-, karkaṭa-* in the sense of 'pot', 'hollow coconut' etc; Ta. *karakam*, Ka. *karaga* : Te. *garaga* 'pot'). A similar fluctuation may be noted even in one or two Indo-Iranian words: Skt. *guh-*, Av. *gaoz-* 'to hide' : Skt. *kuhaka-* 'deceiver', *kuhayati* 'deceives', *kuhara-* 'cave' (Wack. I § 100 a); Skt. *keśa-* 'hair' : Av. *gaēsa-* and indicates that the words have been borrowed from some unspecified source.

In addition, the variant may be not only voiced but also aspirated. Beside Pkt. *gaggarī*, Nep. *gāgro* etc. Si. *ghāgari* is quoted (*Nep. Dict.* s.v.). Similarly, we find Skt. *kuṇa-* 'a kind of insect living in clothes', *kiṇa-* 'a wood worm' : *ghuṇa-* 'wood worm'; Ka. *goṇṇe* (*-puru*) 'wood worm' (Kitt. no. 52); and Skt. *kuṭa-* : *ghaṭa-* 'pot'; Ta. *kuṭam*, Ka. *koḍa* (*BSOAS* xi, 138 n.).

To these we may add also Skt. *kaṭaka-* 'hill-side, ridge, mountain pass', Pkt. *kaḍaga-* id.: Skt. *ghaṭṭa-* 'a ghāṭ, quay or landing place, steps by a river-side etc'. Pkt. *ghaṭṭa-* id., Mar. *ghāṭ* 'a mountain range, a pass or difficult passage over a hill; quay, wharf, landing-place', and related words in modern

1. Kan. has *gurukuñji, guruguñji, gurguñji*, a compound form which has also been borrowed into IA.: Hi. *ghũghcī* id.

IA. : Ta. *kaṭṭu* 'side of a mountain, dam, ridge, causeway'. Ka. *kaṭṭu* 'dam', *kaṭṭe* 'dam, embankment, causeway', *gaṭṭa* 'mountain range, gha(u)t', *gaṭṭu* 'a bank or shore, dam or mound', Tu. *gaṭṭa* 'gha(u)t, defile, pass', Te. *kaṭṭa* 'dam embankment', *gaṭṭu* 'hill, bank, shore, a dam or mound of earth.' The earlier loan Skt. *kaṭaka-* preserves the original unvoiced initial. The single *-ṭ-* for Drav. *-ṭṭ-* is paralleled in other words : Skt. *taṭa-* 'bark', Ta. *tiṭṭu* etc. (cf. *TPS* 1945, pp. 102-3).

Of the homonymous words Kittel (no. 255) derives *kaṭaka-* 'bracelet' from Drav. *kaṭṭu* 'to tie, bind', and this can be accepted. (cf. Ta. *kaṭṭu vaṭam* 'necklace of beads, anklet'. *KuT.* 21 *poṉ cey puṉai irai kaṭṭiya makaḷir* ; The noun, Ta. Ka. Tu. Te. *kaṭṭu* is given the meanings of 'band, tie, tire of wheel, hoop'.)

With Skt. *kaṭaka-* 'camp' we may compare Ta. *kaṭṭ-ūr* 'camp' (*PatP.* 68. 2. etc.).

2. *kuhū́-*

Skt. *kuhū́-* f. occurs in the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas in the sense of 'the new moon' (personified as the daughter of Aṅgiras). It is worth while pointing out the similarity between this word and the Uralian words for moon : Fi. *kuu*, Md. *kov*, *koŋ*, Hg. *hó* : *hava-*, Ost. Kaz. *Xuw*, Irt. *Xăw*, Sam. K. *khi*, Koib. *kuĭi* etc. Since there are words in Indian and Iranian which are derived from Uralian (*TPS* 1946, pp. 28-29, and see below *nanandṛ-*), the probability is against this coincidence being accidental. That *kuhū́-* is a foreign word is indicated among other things by the fact that other names with which it appears associated, *rākā*, *sinīvālī-*, have also a distinctly non-Aryan appearance. BR. following Weber were inclined to derive it from √*kuh* = √*guh*, but this is rendered quite impossible by the alternative form, *gungū́-* (ṚV. ii, 32, 8), which cannot be reduced to the rt. √*kuh*/√*guh* (<*√*guźh*). The existence of two such divergent forms is also indicative of the word being foreign. The original FU. form appears to have had a guttural of some kind after the first vowel (Ost. *Xuw*. *Xăw* <**koŋ* acc. to Steinitz : *Geschichte des Finnisch-Ugrischen Vocalismus*, p. 24) and Skt. *kuhū́-* is probably <**kughū́-*. With the nasal in *gungū́-* compare Md. *koŋ-*.

In view of the connection between Dravidian and Uralian (*BSOAS* xi, pp. 328-356), it would be possible for this word to have been acquired in India. On the other hand, it does not occur in the existing Dravidian languages which have different words (Ta. *tiṅgal*, *nilā*, etc.). It might, have been preserved, of course, in the ancient Dravidian of the North-West, by which the Vedic language was influenced (*TPS* 1946, pp. 22-24), or, as likely, the word might have been acquired by Skt. outside India, in that case, directly from an old Finno-Ugrian dialect.

3. √ksam

Among the Iranian words corresponding to Skt. √*kṣam* 'endure', H. W. Bailey draws attention to Pšt. *zγamᵊl*, (cf. *BSOS* ix, p. 77). As the meaning of the words is identical, the comparison is to be accepted and indicates that this word began originally with a voiced combination, as did √*kṣar* etc. Further, either in Skt. or Pšt. there has been a transposition of the initial consonant group. The fluctuation is common in IE words of this type. A well known example is Toch A. *tkaṃ* 'earth', Hitt. *tegan* : Gk. χθών, Skt. √*kṣam*. The same order as in Toch A. *tkaṃ* must also have existed in the case of the simplified forms : Av. *zam*, Gk. χαμαί, Lat. *humus, homo*, Goth. *guma*, Toch B. *keṃ*, the first of a difficult combination of consonants having been dropped. Likewise, in Gk. ἰχθῦς 'fish' : Arm. *jukn*, Lith. *žuvis* (*ĝd hū* : *dĝhū* > *ĝhū*). Compare also Skt. √*kṣar* 'to flow', Pkt., √*jhar*, Av. *γžar* : Av. *žgar-*, and with loss of the initial sibilant Skt. √*ghar* 'to pour', *ghṛta-* 'melted butter' (but Pa. *paggharati* with double consonant). Two further Iranian exx. : *dᵊjīt- arᵊta-* 'destroying the law' : Skt. √*kṣi*, Pkt. √*jhī*, Gk. φθίνω, simplified in later Av. *jit-aša-* and probably in *ajyamna-* = Skt. *ákṣīyamāṇa-*; *dᵊjāmaspa-* n. pr., later *jāmaspa-*, Skt. *kṣāmá-*, Pkt. *jhāma-*; the meaning of *dᵊjāma-* will be the same as that given in the *Ardha-māgdhī Dictiónary* for *jhāma-* : 'black colour as of a burnt object.'

Which order is original, that of Skt. √*kṣam* or Pšt. *zγamᵊl* ? Either is possible, because in some of the words of this type the guttural may have originally come second. Hittite and Tocharian make this likely in the case of the word for earth. Here, too, Pšt. probably preserves the original order since on this assumption the root is capable of easy analysis. Skt. has a root √*sagh* meaning 'to endure' (*ásaghnor bharám* RV. I, 31, 3). Now it is well known that *-em* appears commonly in IE as a root-extension : *e.g.*, Lat. *tremo* : Skt. √*tras*, Skt. √*dram* 'to run' : √*drav*, √*drā* etc. Similarly √*sagh* + *am* > √*zgham* > Pšt. *zγamᵊl*, and with metathesis Skt. √*kṣam*.

4. kharvá-

Skt. *kharvá-* 'mutilated, crippled, injured, imperfect, low, dwarfish', Pkt. *kharva-* 'dwarf, dwarfish ; left hand', Sh. *khăbŭ* 'left, etc.' (*Nep. Dict.* s. v. *debre*).

Iranian has the following words corresponding to this : Av. *kaurva-* 'short, stumpy, mutilated' (not 'bald' : cf. H. W. Bailey *BSOS* vi, pp. 598-9, *JRAS*, 1939, p. 117), Sogd. *ktw* 'deficiency, hollow', *krw-δnt'k* 'having defective teeth', Pers. *karv, karve* 'decayed teeth' (W. B. Henning, *BSOS*, x, p. 96). The irregular correspondance, Skt. *kh-* : Ir. *k-* is paralleled by Skt. √*khan* : Av. √kan. It may indicate that the word is borrowed from some non-Aryan source.

5. *gambhīrá-*

A. Meillet (IF. V, p. 333) equated Skt. *gambhīrá-* , *gabhīrá-* 'deep' (Av. *jafra-* 'deep'; cf. also Skt. *gabhá-* 'slit, vulva', *gámbhan-* 'depth', *gambhára-* id.) with Slavonic (OB) *glǫbokŭ* and related words on the assumption that the Slavonic words had acquired their *l* through contamination with words of similar meaning. This comparison is not accepted by Berneker (*Slawisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* s.v.) as being too complicated, and is not satisfactory as it stands. Nevertheless, the similarity of the two words is too striking to be ignored. A better way of uniting them is to assume, not that *l* has been added in the Slavonic word, but that it has been lost in Indo-Iranian. Since *l* would develop into *r*, and the word has also suffixal *r*, this is easily accounted for as a case of dissimilation. Greek γλάφυ 'hollow, cave', γλαφυρός 'hollow, deep etc.' shows the *l* to be original.

Av. *gufra-* 'deep', though similar in appearance can hardly be united with these words phonetically. It is better explained by comparing directly Toch. A. *kupär* 'deep', and assuming a completely different IE root.

6 *nava-* 'sneezing'

The dictionary of Walde-Pokorny reconstructs a variety of forms of the IE word for 'sneeze' (I, 601), as is to be expected in the case of an onomatopoeic word. These are *qseu* (Skt. *kṣauti*), *qsneu*, *qneu* and *sneu* (Eng. *sneeze* and related Germanic forms with *s*-extension). Under *sneu*, Skt. *nava-* 'sneezing' (Caraka S. VIII, 11) should be added. IE *s-* is frequently unstable in initial consonant groups (Brugmann, *Grundriss*², pp. 725 ff.) and in the case of this root we find Germ. *niesen* beside Eng. *sneeze*. Likewise, Skt. *nava-* : **snava-* 'sneezing'.

7. *niryūha-*

There are two words *niryūha-* in Skt. One, meaning 'prominence, projection, turret etc'. is a corruption of *nirvyūha-* which also occurs in the same sense. The second means 'extract, juice, decoction' and contains a root √*yuh* which is not elsewhere to be found in Skt. A corresponding root, however, is familiar in Av., namely, √*yaoz* 'to seethe', being more or less synonymous with √*yah* = Skt. √*yas* 'to seethe'. From √*yas* we have in Skt. *niryāsa-* 'exudation of trees or plants, juice, extract, decoction', and, likewise, from √*yuh* = Av. √*yaoz*, *niryūha-* 'extract, decoction'. For the long *ū* compare *gūhati*.

8. *nánāndṛ-*

Skt. *nánāndṛ-* 'husband's sister, (*nandā* id. Lex. Pa. *nanandā*, Pkt. *ṇaṇandā* id., Hi., *nanad*, *nand*, Mar. *naṇad* id., Nep. *nanda* 'husband's younger sister etc'. *Nep. Dict.* s.v.) is one of the few names of

relationship for which it is not possible to provide an IE etymology. The suffix has been adopted from the other names of relationship, and subtracting it we have a base *nanānd-*, which has the appearance of having been borrowed from some non-Aryan source.

In this connection the following words in the Dravidian and Uralian languages are to be noted:—

Ta. *nāttanār* 'husband's sister', *nāttūn* id., Ma. *nāttūn* 'a husband's sister; brother's wife', Ka. *nādini* 'a husband's sister; brother's wife', Kui. *nānja* 'a younger sister-in-law; Fi. *nato* 'husband's sister; brother's wife', Cher. *nuδo* 'younger sister of husband or wife', Sam. (M. A. Castrén) Ju. *ńenadu, ńenado* 'wife of elder brother', and the following words meaning male in-laws: Ju. *nādo* 'younger brother of wife', *ńínadea* 'sister's husband', K. *nado* 'brother of wife', T. *inidie* 'husband of elder sister'.

The similarity of the words in the three language groups is striking, and there can hardly be any doubt as to their identity. As between Dravidian and Uralian, we have an important word-correspondance to be added to the evidence indicating their connection. The Skt. word could have been acquired either from Dravidian, or outside India from Uralian. In view of the fact that the form most closely resembling the Skt. is SamJu. *ńenadu* 'wife of elder brother', the probability is that it was borrowed outside India from some Uralian dialect which had the fuller form which is preserved in Samoyede.

9. *priyaṅgu-* 'Panicum Italicum'

This Skt. word consists of two homophones, one occurring from the VS onwards, meaning 'millet' or 'panic seed', and the other, occurring later, meaning various kinds of trees. With Skt. *priyáṅgu-* 'millet' (Kaśm. *pinga* 'Panicum Italicum,' Ḍumaki *perc?* 'a kind of millet),' compare Burmese *proṅ* (*pyaung*) 'a kind of millet'. This is probably a migratory word of East Asiatic origin which has found its way independently into Skt. and Burmese.

10. √*bhaṇḍ*

Skt. √*bhaṇḍ* 'to reprove, deride,' is listed in the *Dhatupaṭha*, but does not appear to have been very commonly used. The derivative *bhaṇḍa-* 'jester, buffoon' is common in later Skt. Pkt. has *bhaṇḍaï* 'abuses' and derivatives in Mod IA. are widespread (Hi. *bhāḍna* etc.). The Skt. word is properly a Pkt. form of the type mentioned by Wackernagel: *Altind. Gramm*, I. pp. 167 ff. The nearest related forms occur in some Eastern Iranian languages, namely, Wakhi √*vūrand* 'to abuse, scold', Ishk. √*vrōn* 'to scold'. These represent Iranian **brand* with which Old Sl. *blęďi* 'idle talk' is to be compared Morgenstierne *IIFL* ii, p. 547). Skt. shows that the root was √*bhlend*, not

√*bhlendh* and there is no connection between these words and Goth. *blinds* etc., as is clear from the meaning in any case.

11. *matyà-*

Skt. *matyà-* 'harrow', occurs in the TS and other early texts, and beside it there is *matī* √*kṛ* 'to harrow'. From the late *Kṛṣisaṅgraha*, the form *madi-* or *madikā-* is quoted, a Prakritic development out of the above. Compare Av. *mati-* 'projecting point or pinnacle of a mountain.' A primary meaning of 'spike, projection' makes it easy to unite these two words semantically. On further etymological connections see Bartholomae AIW s.v., WP II. 263.

12. *marica-*

Kittel (no. 113) followed by Bloch, *BSL* xxv. p. 15, derives Skt. *marica-* 'pepper' from Dravidian: Ta. Ma. *miḷaku*, Kot. *melg*, Ka. *meṇasu*, *meṟasu*, Tu. *muṇuci*, *muṇci* id., besides which we have Ta. *miriyam* Lex., *miriyal* (Perump.), Te. *miriyamu*. The relation between these forms is somewhat complicated, but is made clear by the Savara language. In Savara there is a series of alternative long and short forms of words, the use of which is regulated by syntax (G. V. Ramamurti: *Manual of the Savara Language*, pp. 69-73). The relation between these two sets is that the shorter form is the original and radical form of the word, while the longer form has been lengthened by a prefix (*jo : n* : *ᵊjo : -n* 'fish' *bu : -n* : *kᵊmbu : n* 'pig'), an infix (*kib-ᵊn* : *kᵊdib-ᵊn* 'sword', *moζ-ᵊn* : *mᵊroζ-ᵊn* 'a basket of 200 measures') or by the addition of a suffixal element which was probably in origin an independent word (*ar-ᵊn* : *ar-si : -n* 'monkey'), *kur-ᵊn* : *kur-pa : l-ᵊn* 'calabash,' etc.). In the case of the word in question the two forms are *mid-ᵊn* : *mᵊrid-sa : -n* (*mᵊrissa : -n*) and the relation between them is perfectly clear. The radical form is *mid-ᵊn* and the augmented form *mᵊrid-sa : -n* contains an infix *-ᵊr-* and the additional element *-sa :* which was no doubt originally an independent word. Skt. *marica-* has been borrowed from a Kolarian source which had a form essentially the same as the long form in Śavara. The Mod IA forms represent original **maricca-* (*Nep. Dict.* s.v. *maric*) and the double consonant is clearly accounted for by the Savara form of the word. Turning to Dravidian, we may derive Ta. *miḷaku* directly from Kolarian, but from the shorter, not the longer form of the word, the equation being Ta. *miḷ-aku* : Sav. *mid-ᵊn*. There are other examples of a Sav. *d* corresponding to *l* in other languages: Sav. *padᵊsa : -n* 'jack-fruit': Ta. *palā*, Ka. *halase*, *haḷasa*, etc. Ta. *miriyam*, Te. *miriyamu*, on the other hand, are derived from Pkt. *miria-* which occurs beside *maria-* representing Skt. *marica-*. The difference of vowel here is probably to be explained by the indistinct or fluctuating nature of the vowel in the original Kolarian from which the word was taken.

13. *lavaṇa-*

Skt. *lavaṇá-* is used both as an adj. meaning 'salty', and in the neu. as a noun meaning 'salt'. Its use as an adj. is due to the fact that it is originally a derivative, adj. form. The reconstructed IE form **leuenó-* stands for original **sleuenó-* and the loss of *s-* is another instance of the instability of *s-* in initial consonant groups in IE (see above, *nava-* : below √*śliṣ*). IE *sleuenó-* contains the weak grade of the IE word for 'salt', *sal* + suffix *-eu-* + suffiix *-eno-*. A *u-* suffix for this word is attested by Gk. *ἁλυ-κός* 'salty', a suffix *-no-* appears in OSl *solnŭ*, Russ. *solonyj* 'salty', and the Skt. word contains an accumulation of the two. A similar combination of suffixes appears in Skt. *śrávaṇa-*, *ślavaṇa-* 'lame' from the root which appears in its full grade in Goth. *halts*. Compare also, with different final suffix, Lat. *clau-dus* 'lame'. Beside *śrávaṇa-*, there is also *śroṇá-* in RV. with suffix *-na* instead of *-ana*, and a similar formation to this latter is found in Skt. *dróṇa-* 'a wooden bucket'.

14. *liṅga-*

Skt. *liṅga-* 'mark, sign', is often compared with Av. *iriṅga-* which occurs in the compound *hapto-iriṅga ursa major*. As the exact meaning of Av. *iriṅga* in this compound is not precisely known, the meaning 'sign' given by Bartholomae being based on this etymology and not *vice versa*, the connection of these two words is obviously not at all certain. Przyluski's attempt (*Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. 8 ff.) to explain it from an Austro-Asiatic source offends too much against semantics to carry conviction. There is a third method of approach which deserves consideration, namely that it is an irregular Pkt. development of an Indo-Aryan word. In the early literature (*TBr.*, *ŚBr.*, *ĀpŚr.*) there occurs a word *nyaṅgá-* meaning 'mark or sign', derived from *ni* and √*añj* This can be turned into *liṅga-* if we assume two changes, (1) *samprasāraṇa*, (2) a change of *n-* to *l-*. In Mid. Indo-Aryan there is evidence for both these types of change. *Samprasaraṇa* occurs in a. *dvīha-* : *dvyaha-*, *vitivatta-* : *vyativṛtta-*, *niṅka-* : *nyaṅku*. etc. (Geiger, *P. Gr.* §75) and Pkt. *abbhintara-* : *abhyantara-*, *paḍinīa-* : *pratyanīka-*, *vilia-* : *vyalīka-* etc. (Pischel § 151). For the fluctuation between initial *n-* and *l-* we may quote Pa. *naṅgala-* : Skt. *lāṅgala-*, Pkt. *ṇaṅgūla-* : Skt. *lāṅgūla-*, Pkt. *naluḍa-* : Skt. *lalaṭa-*, and later Mar. *loṇi* 'butter' : Skt. *navanīta-* and conversely Nep. *nūn* 'salt', etc. : Skt. *lavaṇá-*. Among these Dravidian evidence shows that Skt. *l-* is secondary in *lāṅgala-* and *lalaṭa-* (cf. *BSOAS* XI, p. 615). Likewise it is secondary in *liṅga-* as compared with *nyaṅgá-*. It is to be observed that Skt. *liṅga-* is unknown to the earlier Vedic literature. It first occurs in some verses in *Bṛh-Up.* IV. 4. 8, and this is late enough for Prakritic tendencies to begin to appear. Pkt. also is the change of accent as between *nyaṅgá- and liṅga-*.

There is another word *nyaṅga-* in Skt. meaning 'crippled, lame' which occurs in the *Artha-śāstra* of Kauṭilya, 154, 17 and 175, 15[1], and is derived from *ni* and *aṅga-* 'limb'. This word has gone through developments similar to those of *nyaṅgá-* 'sign'. Thus we find Skt. *laṅga-* 'lame' *KaSr.*, *liṅgika-* and *liṅgita-* (*Aśvav.* cf. Schmidt : *Nachträge*), Hi. *laṅgṛa* 'lame', etc, Kaśm. *lingun* 'to get distorted', Be. *leṅgā* 'left-handed', Or. *leṅgaṛa* 'lame' (*Nep. Dict.* s.v. *laṅaṛo*). Pers *lang* 'lame' is presumably a IW. from India.

15. *lūma-*

Skt. *lūma-* 'tail', (Hi. Be. *lūm* id.) bears a strong resemblance to certain Eastern Iranian words meaning 'tail', namely Pšt. *l'm*, Yidgha *lum* 'tail', etc., corresponding to Av. *duma-*, Pers. *dum*, *dumb* etc. It is difficult to separate the two groups, and since East Ir. *l-* is a special dialectal development of Ir. *d-*, it is to be assumed that the IA word is a IW. from Eastern Iranian. Forms common in the North-Western dialects, Sh. Koh. *lamuṭo*, G. *lamcṭu*, Bashk. *lumaṭ*, Dam. *limeṭ*, etc. contain this word with the addition of a suffix which may be due to contamination with another IA word, namely Pa. *naṅguṭṭha-* 'tail,' Sgh. *naguṭa*, Mar. *nāgḍa*, etc. This word for tail also seems to have contaminated the word for fox since in place of Skt. *lopāśá-* : Gk. ἀλώπηξ (this also irregular), we find later a predominance of forms with *-m-* : Skt. *lomaṭaka-*, *lomaśa-*, Pkt. *(Khar. Inscr.) lomaṭi*, Hi. *lomṛī*, Pj. *lūmbaṛī*, Bashk. *lumai*, Torw. *lamā*, etc., and it seems evident that these words have been influenced by the above word for tail. The group represented by Skt. *lumbi* 'bunch, cluster' (*Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī*, p. 178, quoting '*pravālaphalalumbibhiḥ*'), Pkt. *lumbī* id., Mar *lobī* 'a pendulous head of corn', *lōbṇe* 'to hang, be suspended', Guj. *lūm* 'bunch', *lumvū̃* 'to droop', etc., is to be separated from the above words for 'tail'.

16. *ślakṣṇa-*

In Skt. *śúṣka-* 'dry' <**súṣka-* : Av. *huška-* we find initial *s-* changed to *ś-* through the influence of the following *ṣ*. Another word in which this change has taken place is Skt. *ślakṣṇá-* 'smooth, soft, tender; small, thin, slim', etc., out of earlier **slakṣṇá-*. The IE root **slag-*. (with unstable *s-*) is well known from the following words: Gk. λαγαρός 'lax, slack, thin, narrow, lanky', λάγνος 'salacious, lustful', Lat. *laxus* 'slack, loose', OIr. *lacc* 'weak, slack', OIs. *slakr*, Eng. *slack* etc. (WP. II, 712.). The Skt. word contains a combination of the two suffixes appearing in Gk. λάγνος and Lat. *laxus*. The IE root is *slag- : strengthened grade **slāg-* (Gk. λήγω, Dor. λάγω : OIs. *slōkr* etc.), not **slᵊg* : **slēg* as given in WP.

1. Cf. also *Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī*, I. 954 *nyaṅgam kutsitāṅgam*.

17. √*śliṣ*

The same change has taken place in the case of Skt. √*śliṣ* 'to cleave' adhere' (whence *śleṣman-* 'phlegm, mucus, slime; lime, glue'), from IE **sleis-*. An IE root *(s)lei-*, with unstable *s-* appears in Gk. αλίνω 'smear', Lat. *lino*, *lēvī* id., Skt. √*lī*, *lināti*, *līyate* 'to adhere, cleave, stick' (a distinct root from √*lī* 'to dissolve = √*rī*), Lat. *līmus* 'mud', OIc. *leir* 'clay', Skt. *lindu-* 'slimy, slippery', etc., and with *s-* Germ. *schleim*, OSl. *slina* 'spittel', Russ. *slizkij* 'slimy, slippery', etc. The *s-* extension in Skt. √*śliṣ* is of the type familiar in Skt. √*dviṣ*, √*śruṣ* etc.

This change of *s - ṣ* to *ś - ṣ* has not established itself as universal in Skt. because in most cases the influence of etymology or the grammatical system has prevented it. So in *sakṣáṇi-* RV. (√*sah*), *sākṣat* (= *sa* + *akṣa-*), *siṣakti*, *siṣāsati*, *suṣuve*, *sikṣati*, *suṣeṇa-* etc. In *snuṣā-* the dental *n* has preserved *s-*; *sarṣapa-* is late and borrowed; *sūkṣma-* does not occur in the earliest text, and may have been influenced by the prefix *su-*. In some words there is a fluctuation between *s-* and *ś-*, making it difficult occasionally to decide which was the correct form, notably in *śuṣi-*; *suṣi-* 'hole'; cf. also √*śūṣ* : √*sūṣ* 'prasave' *DhP.* (√*sū*), *śūṣa-* : *sūṣa-*) 'vigour', *śarṣikā-* : *sarṣikā-* a kind of meter', *śuṣā* : *suṣā-* 'black cumin'.

Besides *śuṣka-*, *ślakṣṇa-*, and √*śliṣ* the same change may also have occurred in √*śvas* : √*śuṣ* 'to breathe', but there is some doubt about this (WP. I, 474). From the Indian side it is to be observed that Torw. *sū* 'life', Gārvī *sāh*, Sh. *sā*, *sāwu* 'breath' (beside *ṣ̃a*) seem to idicate original **svāsa-* (cf. *Nep. Dict.* s.v. *sās*). If this is so *ś-* has been transferred, from forms with the weak grade √*śuṣ* 'to be strong' form √*śvas*. the same extension may also have occurred in Skt. √*śak*, *śaknoti* 'to be able' : *śikṣati* 'to learn'. The primary meaning of this root (= Av. √*sak* : √*sixš*) appears to have been 'to know, understand' whence 'to know how to, to be able', and this meaning makes suitable a comparison with Lat. *scio* : Hitt. *sakhi* 'to know' (cf. A Vaillant, *BSL*, XLII, pp. 84 ff.). Skt. *ś-* for *s-* would then have started in the desiderative stem, √*śikṣ* < *√*sikṣ* and then have spread to the root in other forms. In this case Shina *s-* in *siçoiki* 'to learn', *siçaroiki* 'to teach' may well be ancient and preserve the original form.

18. *śvábhra-*

H.W. Bailey (*Zorastrian Problems*, p. 221) has explained Av. *sufrā-*, *suwrā-* as 'goad' derived from an Indo-Iranian root √*śubh* which appears also in Sogd. *swnp* : *swβt*, Pers. *sumb* : *suft* 'to pierce', Skt. √*śumbh* 'hiṁsāyām', DhP. : *niśumbha-*, Pa. *sumbhati* 'strike', Mar. *sũbū*, *sũbhā* 'iron implement for cleaving stone' etc. The guṇa, however, is not **śaubh-* as suggested there, but √*śvabh*, and this occurs in Skt. *śvábhra-* 'hole'. From the radical meaning 'pierce, perforate',

we get easily the meanings of Av. *suwrā-* 'goad, an instrument to pierce with', and on the other hand of Skt. *śvábhra-* 'perforation, hole, pit'.

19. √*saj*

In *BSOAS*, XI. 776 (1949) H. W. Bailey has called attention to the curious form *ṣaṅga-* which appears in the north-western Pkt. in place of Skt. *saṅga-* 'attachment'. This *ṣ-* also occurs in some modern languages of the North-West in words derived from Skt. √*saj* : Shina *ṣam* sing. pres., *ṣegas* pret, *ṣoiki* inf. 'to attach', *ṣacam*, *ṣatus*, *ṣacoiki* 'to be attached', Phaluṛa √*ṣū* 'to put on (clothes)', √*ṣac* 'to be kindled', (cf. Hi. *lagnā* in the sense of 'to be kindled'), Bushk. √*ṣa* 'to kindle a fire ; to put on clothes'. He remarks : 'The change *s*>*ṣ* in this word is unexplained'. There is not necessarily a change of *s-* to *ṣ-*, since in the North-West *ṣ* may stand for original *śr-* or *sr-* and therefore this form could be taken as indicating an alternative dialectal form of the root, i.e. √*sraj* beside √*saj*. In support of this some IE equations may be quoted in which the Skt. root seems to have lost an *r* : Skt. √*bhañj* 'to break', O Ir. *com-boing* : Lat. *frango*, Goth. *brikan* ; Skt. √*bhuj* 'to enjoy', Lat. *fungor* : Lat. *fruor*, AS. *brūcan* ; Skt. *gambhīra-* : Osl *globokŭ* has been mentioned above ; likewise Skt. √*jṛmbh* 'to yawn' (guṇa *√*jrambh*.?) : Skt. √*jabh*, Oss. *zümbin* 'to yawn'. It is quite possible, therefore, that there were two alternate dialectal forms of this root, √*saj* and √*sraj*. This gives us a good etymology for Skt. *sraj-* 'garland'. This word cannot be connected with the root √*sṛj* 'to let loose' either from the point of view of meaning or from the point of view of phonology (*sragvin-*, *sragbhis* : *sṛṣṭa-*), but can easily be equated with a root √*sraj*, variant of √*saj*, both phonetically and from the point of view of meaning ('something attached to the person, put on').

Assuming a root √*sraj*, in forms without palatalisation √*srag*, we are also in a position, to explain the Skt. verbal root √*lag* 'to be attached etc.' and its derivatives. This root turns up late in Skt. being unknown to the Vedic literature, and is very widely used in the modern languages (*Nep. Dict.* s.v. *lāgnu*, *lagāunu*). It can be explained as standing for √*slag*, *l-* variant of √*srag*, with Pkt. loss of initial *s-*. The root has been extracted from the participle *lagná-* < **slagna*/*sragná-* which accounts for the preservation of *g-* as well as for other peculiarities of the verb : e.g. Pa. *laggati*, *laggeti*, with a present base *lagga-* < *lagna-*, etc.

20. *sphuliṅga-*

It is incorrect to derive Skt. *sphuliṅga-* 'spark', either from Skt. √*sphur*/√*sphul* + suffix *-iṅga-* (Wack. *AIG*. I p. 30) or from an IE root *sphel-* 'to shine' (WP. II, p. 679). It is clearly derived from the Skt. √*sphūrj*. This root (cf. WP. II, pp. 672 ff : *sp(h)erēg-*) means in Skt. 'to burst forth, be displayed,

appear, crash, crackle, explode, crash, thunder roar', and related words in other IE languages are Ir. *sparg-*, Av. *frasparga-* 'sprout, shoot' ('that bursts forth', cf. Skt. *sphūrjaka-* 'a kind of plant'), Sogd. *sprym'k* 'flower', Gk. σφαφαγεομαι 'to burst with a noise, crackle, splutter' and a variety of the other words, particulary in Germanic and Balto-Slavonic, including Eng. *spark*. The vocalism is originally the same as that of √*sphūrj* but has suffered an anomalous development. An IE *spᵊrᵊg-* gives regularly Skt. √*sphūrj* and Ir. *sparg*. If these two reduced vowels had been treated separately we have had in the first syllable √*sphur*/√*sphul* as in *sphurati* and in the second syllable the shwa would have developed in the normal way to *i*. This does not happen as a rule since the group is treated as a unit and produces in Ir. *ar* and in Indo-Aryan *ir*/*ūr*. But it has happened in the case *sphuliṅga-*, because here the group if followed by a double consonant *-ṅg-*, and the normal development would have led to a group of consonants difficult to pronounce, *-lṅg-*. That such groups were difficult in Skt. is illustrated by the trouble the grammarians had over the neut. pl. of a word like *bahūrj-*; on the whole they disliked nasalisation here and insisted on the form *bahūrji*, though some according to Patañjali who argues the matter were prepared to admit *bahūrñji* in deference to the general rule (Pā. VII, 1, 72; VāSūs 4 & 5). As regards the infixed nasal WP. quote certain forms (MLG. *spranken* 'to spark' etc.) which show such a nasal. In Skt. the past participle is *sphūrgṇa-* (Pā. VIII, 2, 45) and such participles in *-ṇa* are often associated with roots with infixed nasals.

Pūrvā Meaning Praśasti

By

B. CH. CHHABRA, *Ootacamund*

There are fossils in the field of linguistics, too, in the sense that a particular word, evidently once invested with a certain meaning, has, by the passage of time, lost it so completely that even lexicons provide no guidance.[1] To recognise its past life, one has to collect specimens and subject them to comparative study. Such obsolete terms or petrified expressions, so far as Sanskrit is concerned, abound specially in old inscriptions. *Pūrvā* happens to be one such expression, and we propose to discuss it in the present note.

The term *pūrvā* occurs in quite a number of ancient epigraphs in a context where, as will presently be demonstrated, it cannot mean anything else but *praśasti* 'eulogy' or 'laudatory poem', though nowhere has it been taken as such. Those who had to translate it or comment on it have taken it as an adjective, qualifying some such word as *praśasti*, which, they say, is understood and is to be supplied. The cumulative evidence of the instances cited below militates against such a hypothesis and tends to show that the word *pūrvā* is a substantive and itself means *praśasti* in the given context.

Before proceeding with the examples, we may observe that the inscriptions, so far discovered, containing the term under discussion, range in time from the 5th century to the 12th century A.C., and are scattered over a large area, comprising Nepāl, Uttar Pradesh, Rājasthān Union, Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh and Hyderābād. This mirrors the life-history, so to say, of the word *pūrvā* in its peculiar sense of *praśasti*. Its sway was thus fairly extensive and lasted for a very long time.

It may, in passing, be remarked that the term *pūrva* is found used in early inscriptions in another context as well, namely in that of details of the

1. In the Centenary Volume (1845-1945) of the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, Vol. I, Colombo, 1950, pp. 33-5, Dr. E. J. Thomas deals with some linguistic fossils of a different type. He refers to the English equivalents of certain Pāli terms, that emanated from pioneer Indologists and, though wrong and inadequate for rendering the original, have gained currency even among the present-day scholars. After pointing out, for instance, that the word *dhamma* (Skt. *dharma*) is often rendered by 'law' in English, whereas it really signifies 'teaching' or 'doctrine', he remarks: "The term "law" is now a mere fossil, which originated before the real meaning of the Buddhist teaching or doctrine was known."

date of a particular epigraph.[2] This may be akin to the *pūrvā* discussed below, but it has been left out of consideration here, as it is not very material to the point at issue. We now proceed with the relevant examples.

I

Let us first examine the celebrated stone inscription of Mandasor (Madhya Bhārat) of the time of Kumāragupta I and Bandhuvarman. Its object is to record the erection of and, later, repairs to a temple of the Sun by a guild of silk-weavers. It comprises as many as fortyfour stanzas in various metres. It is a poetic work by one Vatsabhaṭṭi who introduces himself in the last hemistich thus :

पूर्व्वा चेयं प्रयत्नेन रचिता वत्सभट्टिना ।

meaning 'and this *pūrvā* has, with particular care, been composed by Vatsabhaṭṭi.' Dr. J. F. Fleet, who edited the inscription, however, supplies the word *praśastiḥ* after *pūrvvā* in the hemistich cited above.[3] This would imply that the poet, who had carefully composed the poem, omitted or could not fit in the word *praśastiḥ* where it was most needed. Fleet's emendation could have been accepted, had the present instance been a solitary one of its kind. We have, on the other hand, more instances, some of which are more explicit on the point. It is, therefore, better to take the term *pūrvā* in the present context as a synonym of *praśasti*.

II

The date of the record just adverted to has been calculated to be 473 A. C.[4] Two more lithic records, not dated, but palaeographically of about the same period, Buddhistic in content, are found at Ajaṇṭā in Hyderābād. One of them occurs in Cave XXVI. It has been edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji and Professor G. Bühler. It records the excavation of the cave temple (Cave XXVI) by a Buddhist monk, Buddhabhadra by name, who himself is the composer of the *pūrvā*, as expressly stated in the first half of the last verse (Verse 19) :

पूर्व्वापि चेयं तेनैव द्वि(द)ध्याचार्य्येण सौगती ।

2. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has briefly discussed the connotation of the word *pūrva* in the *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I (1938), pp. 142-3. His emphasis is, however, more on its use in connection with dates. He has recognised the fact that the word is a substantive and not an adjective. According to him, it denotes 'detailed order' or 'descriptive sequence,' vaguely applying to both *date* and *eulogy*.

3. Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1888), p. 84 and fn. 2. His translation, on p. 87, accordingly, runs as follows : "and this *(eulogy)* that precedes was, with particular care, composed by Vatsabhaṭṭi."

4. In fact, the record contains two dates, one for the construction of the temple and the other for its restoration. The first is the expired year 493 and the second is the expired year 529, both according to the Malava reckoning, corresponding respectively to 437-38 A.C. and 473-74 A.C. This latter is supposed to be the date of the inscription, too.

'and this *praśasti* of Sugata has likewise been composed by the self-same Ācārya (Buddhabhadra).'

This example teaches us further: *Saugatī* is an adjective derived from Sugata, and it qualifies *pūrvā* which is clearly a noun here.

Notwithstanding all this, the editors of the inscription have missed the true import and have treated the *pūrvā* in the text quoted above as an adjective. It may be pointed out that the latter half of the verse has suffered damage and consequently a few words there have been lost to us. Bühler surmised that one of these lost words must have been *praśasti*. His note runs as follows: "it must remain doubtful if *saugatī* or *saugatam* is the correct reading. In the former case the word would have to be taken with *praśastiḥ*, which doubtlessly stood in the last pāda of the mutilated anuṣṭubh; in the latter it belongs to *lokaci[ntanaṁ]*."[5] He was more inclined to the former alternative, as is evident from his translation of the passage: "And this Buddhistic [*inscription or eulogy*], given above, has been likewise composed by the Ācārya..."[6]

Against this view, it may be observed that the addition of an adjunct like *pūrvā* to *praśasti*, as Bühler would have it in this instance, the whole phrase reading *iyaṁ pūrva Saugatī praśastiḥ* (in prose order), is neither necessary nor compatible with Sanskrit idiom. If, on the other hand, the word *pūrvā* is taken to mean *praśasti*, no such ungainliness arises. In that case we would simply have *iyaṁ saugatī pūrvā*.

The next illustration is a little more instructive inasmuch as the position of the expression *pūrvā* there does not admit it to be interpreted as 'given above' or 'that precedes.'

III

The other Ajaṇṭā inscription occurs in Cave XVI. It has likewise been edited by Bhagwanlal Indraji and Bühler. Lately it has been re-edited by Professor V. V. Mirashi. It records the excavation of a cave-dwelling by Varāhadeva, who was a minister of the Vakāṭaka monarch Hariṣeṇa. Appropriately enough, a considerable part of the *praśasti* in the beginning is devoted to the description of the Vakāṭaka rulers of the Vatsagulma branch. In the very first verse, the composer of the inscription, after paying homage to the Lord Buddha, informs us of his object thus:

पूर्व्वां प्रवक्ष्ये क्षितिपानुपूर्व्वीम् ।

'I am going to utter a *pūrvā*, which contains *(also)* the lineage of kings.'

5. *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV (Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions, by Jas. Burgess, London, 1883), 134, fn. 6.

6. *Ibid.*, 136.

The poet of this *pūrvā* displays a marked predilection for alliteration, as pointed out by Mirashi.[7] And he gives us a sample of it in the fourth *pāda* of the very first verse just quoted. It has, however, not been construed as we have done it. Naturally, one, who cannot even suspect that an ordinary word like *pūrvā* can be a noun synonymous with *praśasti*, would never construe the passage as we have done it. And, as we have remarked above, in the present context, the *pūrvā* cannot be rendered as 'preceding' or 'given above.' We thus find that Bhagwanlal Indraji took it to mean 'early,' while Buhler, and, following him, Mirashi explained it by 'ancient.'[8]

The reason why these scholars could not even suspect that the word *pūrvā* here might denote something different is obvious. The compound *kṣitipa-ānupūrvī*, which we have taken to be of the *bahuvrīhi* type, can equally be taken as one of the *tatpuruṣa* kind. In the latter case, it simply means 'lineage of kings.' If *bahuvrīhi*, it signifies 'that which contains a lineage of kings.' In other words, the noun and the adjective in one construction change positions in the other. They took *pūrvā* as an adjective and rendered the passage by "I shall describe the ancient succession of kings." We take it as a noun and translate the passage as "I am going to utter a *pūrvā*, which contains the lineage of kings."

Let us now see as to which of the two explanations is more to the point. Apparently there is nothing wrong with the first one. In fact, this was the only explanation possible as long as the possibility of the word *pūrvā* meaning *praśasti* was not thought of. Now, with that possibility gaining ground, the other explanation has an equal chance. Nay, it appears even more acceptable when we consider that the author of the inscription intended primarily to describe the minister's charity in a laudatory fashion and that the account of the ruling house came in only as a secondary something, however obligatory from the minister's point of view. This receives support from a cognate inscription at Ajaṇṭā itself. This inscription occurs in Cave XVII. It has been dealt with by the aforesaid three scholars. It does not mention *pūrvā* or *praśasti*, but has something else which amounts to that. As in the case of the inscription in Cave XVI, herein, too, the obeisance to the Lord Buddha is followed by the author's declaration as to his object, in the very opening verse, in these words:

विहार-दातुर्व्यवदात-कर्म्मणो गुणाभिधानोपनयः करिष्यते ॥[9]

7. *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 14—Vakaṭaka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā, Hyderabad, 1941, p. 4.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 13. For Bühler's interpretation, see *ASWI*, IV, p. 126 ; and for Bhagwanlal Indraji's rendering, see *ASWI*, Memoir No. 10 *(Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India*, 1881*)*, p. 71.

9. *ASWI*, Memoir No. 10, p. 73 ; *ASWI*, IV, p. 129 ; and *Hyd. Arch. Series*, No. 15, p. 10.

'*(by me)* will set forth a description of the excellences of the pious donor of the *vihāra*.'

It seems that the *pūrvāṁ pravakshye* of the one record stands paraphrased by the *guṇa-abhidhāna-upanayaḥ kariṣyate* of the other. It is, after all, a *guṇa-abhidhāna-upanaya* 'the presenting of a laudatory account' that is meant by *praśasti* and, we may now confidently say, also by *pūrva*. This claim of the latter is further substantiated by the illustrations that follow.

IV

The next instance, in chronological order, is afforded by a stone inscription hailing from a village near Haṛhā far in the north, in the Bara Banki District of Uttar Pradesh. The inscribed slab is now housed in the State Museum at Lucknow. It has been edited by Pandit (later Dr.) Hiranand Shastri. It records the restoration and renovation of a Śiva temple by a Maukhari prince in *Saṁvat* 611 (554 A. C.). The poem, consisting of twenty-three verses, is of considerable merit. Its author is one Raviśānti who introduces himself in the concluding stanza thus :

कुमारशान्तेः पुत्रेण गर्ग्गराकटवासिना ।
नृपानुरागात् पूर्व्वेयम् अकारि रविशान्तिना ॥

The translation of the learned editor, who, in common with other scholars, was unaware of the exact connotation of the word *pūrva* in the original, runs as follows : "Raviśānti, the son of Kumaraśānti and resident of Garggarākaṭa, composed the preceding [*praśasti*] out of regard for the king."[10] While presenting the the text, he corrected the original *pūrva* into *pūrvvyā*.[11] Now we know that neither this correction is necessary nor the word *praśasti* need be introduced in the translation, the *pūrva* itself standing for that.

V

There is yet another inscription of the sixth century A. C. that affords us an instance of the use of the term *pūrva* in the sense of *praśasti*. It is engraved on a rock, overlooking the Betwa, ancient Vetravatī, near Deogarh in the Jhānsī District of Uttar Pradesh. It has been edited by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni. It records the setting up of images of the *Sapta Mātṛkas*, the seven divine mothers, cut in a niche in the rock near the inscription, by one Svāmibhaṭa. The inscription is a dainty poem, significantly consisting of only seven verses. Its author is one Jata, as stated in the first half of the concluding verse :

जातेनाकारि पूर्व्वेयं यच्चदत्ताङ्गजन्मना ।

10. *Epigraphia Indica*, XIV, p. 120.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 118, fn. 1.

The learned editor of the inscription, not knowing the exact sense of *pūrvvā* here, loosely renders it by 'foremost,' and translates the hemistich as follows: "This foremost (*praśasti*) was composed by Jāta, the son of Yakṣadatta."[12] In the light of the foregoing discussion, we may now translate the original by 'this eulogy was composed by Jata, son of Yakṣadatta.'

VI

Of the seventh century A. C., we have three inscriptions, illustrating the use of *pūrvā*. All the three of them come from Rajasthan and are dated. The earliest of them is dated in *Saṁvat* 682 (625 A. C.). The inscribed stone was found at Vasantagaḍh in Sirohi State. It refers itself to the reign of a king named Varmalāta and records the erection of a temple of Durgā, under the name of Kṣemaryā. The inscription consists of twelve verses, followed by names of a number of persons who formed a *goṣṭhī* to which the construction is due. The last verse briefly mentions the names of the composer and the engraver of the inscription:

द्दिवाकरसुतस्येयं धूर्त्तराशे[र्] द्विजन्मनः ।[13]
पूर्व्वातिमृदुभिर् व्वर्णैः प्रोत्कीर्ण्णा नागमुण्डिना ॥

'This *pūrva* of (*i.e.* composed by) the Brāhmaṇa Divākara's son Dhurtarāśi has been engraved, in extremely delicate letters, by Nāgamuṇḍin.'

The inscription has been edited by Bhandarkar. He has not translated it; nor has he expressed any opinion as to the significance of the *pūrvā* occurring in the verse quoted above, though in his introductory remarks he has referred to the inscription as *praśasti*.[14]

VII

A more interesting illustration is afforded by an equally short inscription, dated in *Saṁvat* 718 (661 A. C.). The stone slab on which it is engraved was found somewhere in Mewad[15] and is now kept in the Victoria Hall at Udaipur. It has been edited by Professor F. Kielhorn. It records the erection of a Viṣṇu temple by a lady called Yaśomatī, wife of Varāhasiṁha, a military commander under the Guhila king Aparājita. The charming poem of twelve verses is modestly called, by its author, *kavya-viḍambanā* 'mockery of a poem'

12. *Epigraphia Indica*, XVIII, 127.

13. *Ibid.*, IX, p. 192.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 189.

15. According to Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 13, it came from Nagda in Udaipur State.

or 'an imitation poetry.'[16] The same is referred to as *pūrvā* in the last verse, wherein the poet records the fact that it was engraved, in shapely and exquisite letters, by one Yas'obhaṭa :

बालेनाजितपौत्त्रेण स्फुटा वत्सस्य सूनुना ।
यशोभटेन पूर्व्वेयम् उत्कीर्ण्णा विकटाक्षरा ॥

'This eulogy has been engraved, in clear and acute script, by the young lad Yaśobhaṭa, son of Vatsa, *(and)* grandson of Ajita.'

The veteran editor in this case has likewise refrained from translating the inscription and has thus not expressed his opinion as to the meaning of *pūrvā* in the verse cited above. He has, however, given us sufficient indication of the fact that he did feel something uncanny about it, by drawing attention to the three instances, then known to him, of the similar use of the term *pūrvā*.[17] He was evidently not satisfied with such interpretations of it as 'that precedes.' It need hardly be added that his suspicion stands vindicated now; and the Gordian knot cut !

VIII

One of the three instances quoted by Kielhorn refers us to the Jhālrāpāṭan (Jhālāwār State in Rājasthān) inscription of the time of king Durgagaṇa dated in *Saṁvat* 746 (689 A. C.). It has been edited by Bühler. It records the construction of a S'iva temple by one Voppaka. For our purpose, this inscription is the most illuminative; for, it is called both *praśasti* and *pūrvā* in its concluding verses. It is, however, a pity that Bühler has slightly misread the very crucial word *pūrvā* and has thereby misinterpreted the expression wherein it occurs. The *praśasti* consists of thirteen verses. Verse 12 gives information about its composer and verse 13 informs us of its engraver. In the former, the composition is called *praśasti*, and in the latter, it is referred to as *pūrvā*. The two verses run as follows :

रम्यैर् जनप्रतीतैर् अर्थानुगतैर् अकर्क्कशैश् शब्दै [ः।][18]
रचितेयम् अनभिमानात् प्रशस्तिर् अपि भट्टशर्व्वगुप्तेन ॥

16. This sort of minimization of the merits of one's own composition is quite common among Sanskrit poets. Compare the wistful utterance of a certain poet :

वयमपि कवयः कवयः कवयोपि च कालिदासाद्याः ।
दृषदस्तु सन्ति दृषदश्चिन्तामणयोपि हा दृषदः ॥

17. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 32, fn. 4. The three instances pointed out by Kielhorn correspond to our Numbers I, VIII and XII.

18. The original does not have *visarga* and the single *daṇḍa*, marking the half of the *Gīti*. In that case the omission of *visarga* is quite grammatical, followed as it is by a *ra*.

अच्युतस्य सु[तेनेयं][19] सु(सू)त्रधारेन(ण)[20] धीमता ।
उत्कीण्णा वामणे[20](ने)नेह पूर्व्वा विज्ञानशालिना ॥

The reading of the last quarter is clearly as it is given above, but Buhler read it as *pūrvva-vijñāna-śālinā*, which makes a world of difference. He takes the whole of it as an attribute of Vāmana. He not only translates it by 'who was able to understand the original,' but also emphasises the point by adding an explanatory note, saying: "*pūrvavijñānaśālinā*, *lit.* 'who is able to completely understand the preceding,' apparently indicates that the mason was a person versed in Sanskrit."[21] It needs no showing how wide of the mark Buhler has been in this exposition.

The two verses may be translated as follows :

"And this *praśasti* has been composed modestly, in pleasant, popular, significant and melodious words, by Bhaṭṭa S'arvagupta."

"This *pūrvā* has been engraved here (on the stone) by Acyuta's son Vāmana, an intelligent *(and)* experienced mason".

IX

Another instance that hits the nail on the head is afforded by one of the early inscriptions in the neighbourhood of Kāṭmāṇḍu in Nepāl, jointly edited by Bhagwanlal Indraji and Buhler. The particular inscription that employs the term under discussion is dated in the year 153 of the Harṣa era, corresponding to 758 A. C. It records the dedication of silver lotuses by the members of the royal household to the Lord S'iva. It is a long and beautiful poem, consisting of thirtyfour verses, of which, we are informed, five are composed by the king himself and the rest by one Buddhakīrti ·

श्लोकान् पञ्च विहाय साधु रचितान् प्राज्ञेन राज्ञा स्वयं ।
स्नेहाद् भूभुजि बुद्धकीर्त्तिर् अकरोत् पूर्व्वाम् अपूर्व्वाम् इमाम् ॥[22]

Again, the learned editors of the inscription have taken the word *pūrvā* here as an adjective and considered the noun *praśasti* to be understood; for, their translation runs as follows : "With the exception of five verses, which the clever prince himself composed right well, Buddhakīrti, out of affection for the king, wrote the above original (eulogy).'[23] To us, the last three words of the verse mean 'this unique eulogy'

19. This portion is not clear on the published facsimile, facing page 180, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V.

20. This orthographical mistake is noteworthy.

21. *Ind. Ant.*, V, 182 and fn.

22. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, 180.

23. *Ibid.*, 182.

X

Another clear instance is provided by a damaged stone inscription from Sakrāī in Jaipur State of Rājasthān. It remains unpublished to this day, but has been noticed by Bhandarkar.[24] It is supposed to be dated in *Saṁvat* 1055 (998 A. C.). We happened to examine an estampage of it. In its last verse, its composer gives his name in these words :

पूर्व्वा विरचिता ह्येषा वराहेणाल्पमेधसा ।

'This *pūrvā* has been composed by Varāha of small wisdom.'

XI

Yet another telling instance is found in a Kalachuri record of about the eleventh century A. C. This one comes from Bilhari in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. It is a *praśasti* of composite character, two separate compositions (one by Srīnivāsa and the other by Sajjana), having been welded into one by a S'aiva Ācārya, Aghoraśiva by name, the whole running into more than eightysix verses. It has been edited by Kielhorn. It records the erection of a S'iva temple by the queen Nohalā, wife of the Chedi ruler Keyūravarṣa, and its subsequent dedication, at the hands of their son Lakṣmaṇarāja, to the S'aiva ascetics of the Mādhumateya sect.

The welding is indicated by a prose passage—*teneyaṁ praśastiḥ saṅgatim ānītā*—after verse 83. And verse 86 informs us that the *praśasti* was written out (on the stone) by Nāī and was engraved by Nonna :

करणिकधीरसुतेन तु नाई-नाम्ना प्रशस्तिर् आलिखिता ।

सत्सूत्रधारसङ्गमतनूजनोन्नेन चोत्कीर्ण्णा ॥

Preceding this, we have another *Āryā*, thrown in as verse 85, evidently composed by one Kāyastha Sīruka, wherein the *praśasti* is referred to as *pūrvā*. The second hemistich of this verse reads :

आस्ताम् इयम् आकल्पं कृतिश् च कीर्त्तिश् च पूर्व्वा च ॥

'May this composition — this fame, this eulogy — endure as long as the creation.'

The way the author of this eloquent couplet has laid special emphasis on the contents and the merits of the poetic production by giving it three different significant appellations is really remarkable.

The three conjunctive *cakāras*, employed right in the classic style, clearly indicate that three distinct objects, though referring to one and the same thing, are intended. Yet, the learned editor of the inscription, missing the sense of *pūrvā* here, took only two : *kṛti* for 'composition' and *pūrvā kīrti* for 'the preceding eulogy.' He has left the third *cakāra* unaccounted for. It is certainly not a mere expletive in the present instance.[25]

24. No. 97 of D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*. See also the *Progress Report, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle*, 1909-10, 57.

25. *Ep. Ind.*, I, 270. If the sense taken by Kielhorn were really intended, the author could very well have said *kṛtiś'ca pūrvā pras'astiś'ca*, to avoid ambiguity.

XII

To conclude, let us notice one more instance. The inscription is found in the Sāsbahū temple at Gwalior in Madhya Bhārat. It is partly damaged. It is dated in *Saṁvat* 1161 (1104 A. C.). It has been edited by Dr. E. Hultzsch. It records the construction of a S'iva temple, though its author appears to be a Jaina ascetic of vast erudition, as he calls himself *Nirgranthanātha*. The *pūrvā* consists of twentyfour verses. In verse 23, we have :

..................निर्ग्रन्थनाथः ।
यः षड्भाषाविततकविताकेतु हर्म्यं कलानां
पूर्व्वाम् एताम् अकृत स मुनिः श्रीयशोदेवनामा ॥

'The illustrious monk, Yas'odeva by name, who is the leader of the Nirgranthas, *(and)* who is a veritable abode of fine arts, over which are *(fluttering)* the flags of his poesy in six *(different)* languages, composed this *pūrvā*.'

Hultzsch has not translated the inscription, but in a note he says : "Probably the word *praśastim* has to be supplied with *pūrvām etām*."[26] By now, however, we know that such a supplement is not called for.

Conclusion

The cumulative evidence of the dozen instances, cited above, illustrating the peculiar use of the word *pūrvā* in inscriptions from various places and various periods drives one to the conclusion that it did once signify 'eulogy' and was synonymous with *pras'asti*.

It has not been possible for us to extend our search to the field of literature on this particular issue, though there are indications[27]

26. *Ind. Ant.* XV, 202, footnote 10.

27. For example, see *pūrvvāḥ pras'astīḥ* given as a variant reading under *s'āsanāni* in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* (Nirṇayasagara Press, 7th ed., 1932, p. 225, fn. 5), in the description of Candrāpīḍa's *dig-vijaya*. It appears that certain expressions in this description were not properly understood. We have already shown (*Siddha-Bhāratī*, Pt. I, p. 39) that *kurvan kīrtanāni* is not to be understood as *hari-guṇa-gānāni kurvan* 'singing praises of Hari' as the scholiasts would have it, but means 'building temples'. Now it is significant that in the *dig-vijaya* description, this *kurvan kīrtanāni* should be followed by *lekhayan s'āsanāni* 'causing charters to be written.' Of course, the erection of temples was usually followed by the donation of lands for which copper charters were given to the donees ; but one would expect something else also, such as setting up stone inscriptions, *pras'astis* giving poetic descriptions of the buildings as well as eulogising the pious builder. It may, therefore, be suspected that Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa originally did write something like *ullēkhayan pūrvāḥ* after *kurvan kīrtanāni*, that some copyist later on added *pras'astīḥ* as a gloss to *pūrvāḥ* to explain this less familiar term and that later copyists or collators eliminated the whole clause as something superfluous, thinking that writing or engraving of some sort of documents after all was expressed by the *lēkhayan s'āsanāni*.

that some corroborative material may be found there as well.

Postscript

After this article had been completed, we came across another instance of the use of *pūrvā* in the sense of *praśasti*, which is unique inasmuch as it occurs in a prose passage, whereas all the examples cited above occur in verses. It is found at the end of a partly damaged inscription, dated *Saṁvat* 547 (490 A. C.), which has not yet been published. The passage runs as follows : **लिखिता चेयं पूर्व्वा अपराजितेन राजपुत्रगोभटपादानुद्ध्यातेन** 'and this eulogy has been written by Aparājita who meditated on the feet of (*or* who enjoyed the favour of) Rājaputra Gobhaṭa'. It may be observed that the writer has purposely avoided the *sandhi* between *pūrvā* and A*parājitena*, so that we may have no ambiguity whatsoever about his name being Aparājita. The composition of the inscription proper is in verse.

Formation of the Present Tense
in the
South Dravidian Languages

By

K. GODAVARMA, *Trivandrum*

The sign of present time in the South Dravidian languages is not alike throughout. Caldwell has drawn attention to the affinities in this respect between Kannaḍa (=Ka.) and Telugu (=Te.) on the one hand and Tamiḻ (=Ta.) and Malayāḷam (=Ma.) on the other. Of the languages having a participle of the present probably based on a future, Caldwell mentions Tuḷu, (=Tu.), Tuda and Kōta; and he surmises that *v*, *b*, or *p* as the case may be, used in this connexion is identical with the Ta. Ma. Ka. future.[1] Caldwell's observation may be supplemented by including Coorg also under this group. The paper is an attempt to discuss the present forms in the various languages and to suggest, wherever possible, their origins. It may be noted that only the existing and popular forms in the different dialects have been considered below.

1. *Tamiḻ*

The Present Tense in Ta. is formed by suffixing *kir* or *kiṅd* to the verbal theme of which the former is in more common use. Caldwell has no doubt that these are identical in origin and that the one is either an euphonised or corrupted form of the other. The view that the nasal element has come for purposes of euphony cannot be acceptable to the modern philologists. Nor can a combination like *ṅd* show a loss of the nasal according to Ta. ways of pronunciation. Hence we have to consider them as two different suffixes.

On a comparison of forms like Ta. *naḍakkiṅḍān* 'he walks', with Ma. *naḍakkunnu* and also Ta. *vaṙugiṅḍāṅ* 'he comes,' with Ma. *vaṙunnu,* Caldwell jumps, without any hesitation, to the conclusion that Ma. *-unn-* < *-inn-* is a softened and euphonised form of the Ta. particle. The colloquial Ta. form *pōrēn* instead of *pōgirēn* 'I go,' is pointed out by him in support of the discardance of the initial *k* of *kiṅd*. With regard to the origin of *kir,* Caldwell holds the view that it is a corrupted form of *kiṅd.*

The contention that the Ta. sign of the present time had an initial *k* to start with, is difficult to establish. It is likely that the original suffix was *-ir-*

1. Caldwell · *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian*, pp. 490-495.

or *-iṅd-*, the *k* being a later development. If the suffix had an initial *k*, forms like Ta. *āgiṅd'ān* 'he is', and *pōgiṅd'ān* 'he goes', should have actually become *ākkiṅd'ān* and *pōkkiṅd'ān*. For, we definitely know that the roots of the above verbs are *āk-* and *pōk-* respectively and not *ā-* and *pō-* as conjectured by grammarians. Ma. *āyi* and *pōyi*, and Ta. and Ma. *āgum* and *pōgum* go to prove that the root ended in *k*. It may be noted here that *āyi* is from earlier *āk-i*, *y* being a glide arising after the loss of occlusion of *k* in between vowels. This, together with the fact that Ma. shows invariably *-unn-* < *-inn-* in the present, perhaps favours the supposition that *k* in the Ta. present is a later addition through dissociation from roots ending in *k*. Sometimes *kiṅd'* will be found to be constituted of *k*, the final consonant of a verb-extension and *ind'* as in Ta. *ōdugiṅd'ān* 'he runs.'

It will be clear from the above that the basis of Ta. *giṅd'-* and Ma. *inn-* is the same while *ir* found in Ta. *-kir-* is altogether a different suffix. With regard to the origin of Ta. *-iṅd'-* and Ma. *-iṅd'-*, I am inclined to think that it is derived from the past stem of a verbal root *il-* meaning 'to be or to exist'. The past stem *il-nd* which is a combination of *il-* and *nd*, an element denoting past sense appearing in certain classes of verbs (cf. Ta. *tīrndān*, *cērndān* etc.) will show a development of *ind* in Ta. and *inn* in Ma. The more commonly used Ta. *-ir-* as in *āgirān* and *pōgirān* is perhaps the Ta. root *ir-* surviving in *irattal* 'to pass by, elapse as time'. As pointed out by Rāja Rāja Varma Ta. *irandadu* meaning 'that which has passed out', would justify the assumption of a root *ir-* or *ira-* in the sense of 'that which is passing out', that is to say, the present[2]. The long consonants occurring before *-ind-* or *-ir-* as in Ta. *naḍakkiṅd'ān*, *naḍakkirān*, *eḍukkiṅd'ān*, *eḍukkirān* will have to be explained as resulting from root-extensions.

2. *Malayāḷam*

Early Ma. poetry shows *-iṅd'-* as the present sign. The alveolar pronunciation of *ṅd'* in *iṅd'* is evidently a Tamilism that has crept into ancient Ma. literature. The spoken language must have had *-ind-* which with the nasal assimilation and the change of *i* to *u* has given rise to modern *-unn-*. Thus the modern spoken forms *vaṙunnu* and *pōgunnu* are derived from *var-inn-u* and *pōg-inn-u* < *var-ind-u* and *pōg-ind-u* respectively. It has already been pointed out that *-ind-* had originally a past significance in that it is a combination of *il-* 'to exist' and the past suffix *nd-*. The reason for the change of *i* to *u* may be either as suggested by L. V. Ramaswami Iyer[3]

2. *Kēralapāṇinīyam* p. 230.

3. *The Evolution of Malayāḷam Morphology*, p. 62

the weak stress falling upon the syllable with *i* or as suggested by me[4] the influence of the final *u* developing in the place of personal terminations. How the personal terminations were discarded in Ma. and *u* came to be used instead has been discussed by me in my Presidential Address at the Linguistic Section of the All India Oriental Conference held in Lucknow[5].

3. *Kannaḍa*

Ka. has *utt* in the present form. See *māḍ-utt-ēnē* 'I make', *māḍ-utt-ī*, 'thou makest', and *māḍ-utt-ānē*, 'he makes' etc. The present and future relative participles are identical in Ka., their respective meaning being generally understood from context[6]. See *māḍuva* 'who does or who will do', *āḍuva* 'who plays or who will play'. In this respect Ka. agrees with Coorg and Tu. Kittel takes *utu* to be the primitive form and observes that *utu* is known to be another form of *ndu* the intermediate demonstrative pronoun neuter, from which *udu*, analogously to the formation of *attu* from *adu* and *ittu* from *idu*, *uttu* may be formed[7]. Kittel thinks that *tu* of *utu* has doubled for purposes of euphony. Kittel's view that *ttu* for *tu* is an euphonic development does not seem to be correct. When all intervocalic *t* has generally changed to *d* in Ka., why in this case alone there should be a doubling is not considered by him. The doubling of neuter demonstrative pronouns is seldom met with in the main Dravidian Languages.

Rare instances in Ta. are *eṅṅattei* (acc.) 'what', and *eṅṅattukku* (dat.) 'for what', from *eṅṅadu*, 'what'. In all such instances we have to explain the doubling as having resulted from *d* combining with *t*. Likewise in the Ka. present *-utt-* also the lengthening of the stop must be due to a voiceless dental stop following. What this *t* signified is a matter to be investigated. Perhaps it may have indicated some general connexion and as such used in a possessive sense. For a similar apparent doubling of final *d* see Ta. *eḻuttw* from *eludw* 'to write', where we are sure that the combining element are *d* and *t*. Hence in Ka. *onduttā* 'joining,' *māḍuaṭṭā* 'making' etc., it is necessary to infer that some assimilation is manifested. Where single voiceless stop is found as in *bāluṭa* 'living', it is obvious that *-t-* is a simplification from *-tt-*. It is a matter for consideration whether the Ka. present *utt* is formed in the way Kittel has suggested or whether it is the remnant of an auxiliary verb as in the case of Ta. and Ma. There is to be found in Ka. a root *uru* meaning 'to be, come about, arise' and its past participle is *utt*. It is not unlikely that

4. The Presidential Address, Indian Linguistic Section, All India Oriental Conference 16th Session, p. 32.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

6. Kittel : *A Grammar of the Kannaḍa Language*, p. 113.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

Ka. developed the present sign on lines similar to that of Ta. Perhaps further researches may give us a definite clue on this point.

4. *Telugu*

Arden in his *Telugu Grammar*, p. 97, says that in Te. the progressive present is formed by adding *unna*, the present relative participle of the primary verb *uṇḍu* 'to be' to the present verbal participle, while the habitual present and the future tense is formed by changing final *u* of the present verbal participle into *ā*. Thus we get *koṭṭutunnānu* 'I am striking', *koṭṭutānu* 'I strike or I shall strike'. Forms with *t* occur only in the colloquial dialect while the refined speech shows *c* as *koṭṭucunnānu* against *koṭṭutunnānu*.

Caldwell and Arden are inclined to think that forms with *t* are the original. The change of *t* to *c* is not explained by them ; and it may be remarked here that such a change is normally impossible. The present form may, however, be analysed as either *koṭṭ-uc-unnānu* or *koṭṭ-ut-unnānu*. The origin of *-uc-* or *-ut-* is unknown. Whether this is a remnant of an auxiliary just as in Ta. and Ka. is a matter worth investigating.

5. *Tulu*

When we compare Tu. present forms like *parpe* 'I drink', *paṇpe* 'I say', *tūpe* 'I see', *kēṇuve* 'I hear', *būruve* 'I fall', it would be possible for us to know that *p* is the normal present sign. Where there is *-v-* to be found in its place, the present sign has obviously been added to an extended form of the root *i.e.*, the root + *-u-*. Although Tu. distinguishes the present from the future as in *parpe* 'I drink', *paruve* 'I shall drink', *paṇpe* 'I say', *paṇuve* 'I shall say', the present and the future may be said to have taken more or less the same sign.

6. *Coorg*

Coorg has the same form in the present and future. See *avā bappa* 'he comes or he will come', *nānu kaḷippi* 'I play or I will play', and also *ōḍuvanāyi* 'the dog which runs or which will run,' *bappa pūne* 'the cat which comes or the cat which will be coming'. The tense sign in these instances is definitely *-p-* which when in combination with a preceding consonant remains voiceless and when occurring in between vowels, changes to *-v-*. The same principle is manifested in Ta. future forms also.

Subramonia Sastry's view that it is the glide *-v-* that has given rise to *-p-* does not seem to be correct. He says that *-v-* of *pō-(v)-ān* came to be regarded at a later stage as a tense affix and that this might have been introduced

between the roots ending in consonants and personal terminations. The reason for the change of *-v-* to *-p-* is, according to him, ease of pronunciation[8]. The truth is that *-p-* when added to the final consonant of a root or a root-extension is preserved as voiceless and that the same *-p-* when added to a root or root-extension ending in a vowel, changes to *-v-*. There is no case in pronunciation involved in the change of *-v-* to *-p-*.

8. *Comparative Grammar of Tamil Language*, p. 187.

A Vedic Word in Some Modern Hindukush Languages ?

By

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Various species of the wild rhubarb are growing in the mountains of north-western India and Afghanistan.[1]

The most widely spread words for rhubarb in the Iranian languages are those connected with Persian *rīwand, rāwand* 'Rheum officinale'; *rebās, riwās,* etc. 'Rheum ribes' (?)[2]; Pashto and Balochi *rawāš* 'fresh rhubarb'; Badakhshi Prs. *rau*; Sanglechi *rūv*; Yidgha *rīv*. The exact form of the original stem is uncertain, but the Pamir dialects point to **rāb-*, possibly from **hrāb-* < **srābh-*, and we are perhaps entitled to compare Gk. *rhóphos* 'soup thick beverage'; cf. Pashto *rawdəl* 'to suck, imbibe'.

Other Iranian and Indo-Aryan (Dardic) words refer to the acidness of the juice. Thus Prs. *čukrī* 'sorrel', but also rhubarb blanched by heaping up stones about it[3]; Ormuṛi *čukrī* 'rhubarb'; Yidgha *čugurē* 'rhubarb (and sorrel ?)'; Munjic *čikərī*; Pashai (Lauṛowān) *čukuru*; Kati *ckru* 'rhubarb (?), sorrel', etc. These words are of Indo-Aryan origin and go back to Skt. *cukra-* 'vinegar, sorrel ?' cf. Dameli *čukra* 'sour', etc. The same word is also employed to denote other plants with an acid juice. Thus, Khowar *čukuri* 'sour cherry'; Phaluṛa *čukri* 'potentilla'; cf. Waigeli *cukurā* 'wine'.[4]

Also the Shina word for rhubarb *čōtal* (from which Burushaski *čōtal*) is based upon the same conception. It must be analysed as a compound containing Skt. *caṇḍa-* 'hot, ardent', n. of various plants + an unknown element *tal*. Cf. Skt. *caṇḍa-cukrā* 'tamarind'; Pashai dialects *cāṛ*, *cān(d)* 'sour, etc.-' It is also phonetically possible to derive Pashto *p(u)šəī* f. 'Rheum emodi' from **pisra-*, and to compare Gk *pikrós* 'bitter, acid'. The Pashto word can, however, also go back to **puštra-*, **pṛšta-*, and, besides, no other Indo-Iranian derivatives of the root **peik* have a similar meaning. The etymology, therefore, remains doubtful.

1. Stein : BSOS, VI, p. 511. Cf. also Lumsden : *Mission to Kandahar*, p. 251, and *Deutsche im Hindukusch*, p. 159.—Camping in Chitral, I have often had the juicy stalks cooked for my dinner.

2. Also 'sorrel'.

3. Laufer : *Sino-Iranica*, p. 547.

4. Also Tajiki Prs. *shuguri* 'rhubarb', quoted by Stein (*op. cit.*, p. 251), is no doubt derived from *čukuri* and has nothing to do with the words for sugar.

Another characteristic feature of the rhubarb plant, viz. the broad leaves, is referred to in Phaluṛa *biṭhērī* < **vi-ṣṭarikā-*; cf. Skt. *viṣṭara-* 'anything spread out, a handful of rushes or grass'.—Kashmiri *pamba-cālan*[5] (cf. *pamba-hākh* 'the stalk of the wild rhubarb') contains the Kshm. word for lotus, possibly + Skt. *cālana-* 'wagging, shaking.'

Dardic and E. Ir. words of unknown origin are : Dameli *bâciak*[6] ; Pashai (Kuṛangal) *kamaitāṛi* ; Kati *rajō* 'rhubarb, sorrel' ; Munji *šiiko* (cf Yidgha *šiγiko* 'sorrel') ; Pashto *aryae*[7] 'Rheum emodi.'

But the most interesting Dardic and Kafiri words denoting some species of Rheum are Khowar *išpār* ; Kati *cəwō* and Prasun *ucapər*.

In Khowar, the archaic Indo-Aryan language of Chitral, *išp-* goes back to *śv-*, cf. *išperu* 'white' < *śveta-* ; *išpašur* 'father-in-law.'—Postvocalic *r* represents not only an ancient *r*, but also *t*, as in *ser* 'bridge' ; *šor* 'a hundred'. But also *-ārar*, from *-ātar-*, might result, with haplology, in *-ār*. Thus *arti* 'satisfied' is probably to be derived from **ārirti* < **ā-tṛptika-* ; *očorti* 'three days ago' from **ačarurti* < **ā-caturth(iya-?)* ; comparatives in *-ro* (e.g. *loṭhoro* 'bigger') from **rara* < *-taraka-* ; possibly also *brār* 'brother' from *bhrātaram*, just as *ispusār* from *svasāram*, and not from *bhrātā*.[8]

Khowar *išpār* may thus be derived from **śvāra-*, **śvāta-*, or **śvātara-*.

Kati and Prasun belong to the Kafir group, which has, in a number of words, a dental affricate *c* (*ts*) corresponding to Indo-European palatal *k*, Skt. *ś*, Khowar *š*.—Skt. initial *śv-* is represented by Kati *c-* in *cəstyūŕ*, etc. 'father-in-law' < **cacur*. In this word the *v* may have been lost through dissimilation with the following *u*.[9]

It is, therefore, possible that *cəwō* may correspond to Skt. *śvā-*, but it is equally probable that *cəw-* goes back to *śuvā-*[10]—Indo-Aryan *ā* regularly becomes *ō* in Kati, and *-t*, after a long vowel also *-r*, is dropped, as in *štō* 'star' : *čtwō* 'four' ; *bŕō* 'brother'. Also **-ātara-* should result in **-āar* > **-ā(r)* > **-ō*, and *cəwō* may go back to **c(u)vāra-*, **c(u)vāta-*, or **c(u)vātara-*.

In Prasun *ā* has not been labialized. Thus, *āvə* 'water' ; *bab* 'brother' ; Kati *bŕōb*. —The initial *(w)u-* of *(w)uṣū* 'six' can only be imagined on the assumption that it is derived from a form in *ṣva-*, corresponding to Av.

5. In Kashmiri, other Dardic and Kafiri word *c*=*ts* ; *č*=Skt. *c*.

6. Possibly *b-* from *v-*, but scarcely with metathesis from **civā-* (cf. below.). + *ak*.

7. Only in *Zhob Gazetteer*, p. 324.

8. But in other Dardic languages the words for brother (Dameli *brâ*, etc. go back to the nominative.

9. Cf. also *ç̣ūç̣* 'mother-in-law' < **cūç̣* < **cvacrū́*.

10. Cf. below regarding Vedic *śúvātra-*.

xšwaš, etc., and *uču* 'horn' must go back to **crū*: Av. *srū-*. Prasun *uc-* may, therefore, be derived from **cuv-*. In some cases Prasun *-p-* represents an earlier group *pr*, e.g., in *Apāk* 'n. of a pass': Kati *paprōk*[11]; cf. also *pārə* 'wound': Kati *přčr*. But also *-tv-* results in *p* : *čpū* 'four'; (Y)*īpə* 'n. of a valley in Nuristan'; Kati *ktiwī* < **kitwī*, : *supū* 'n. of a village in Prasun'. Kati *ištəwī* < **štw-*. We are, therefore, entitled to restore an original form **cvātvara-*, probably, with assimilation, from **cvātara-* =**s'vātara-*.

The similarity between the Khowar, Kati and Prasun words for rhubarb can scarcely be due to a mere coincidence, and we must assume that they go back to the same original form **s'vātara-* (**cv-*). This word must be of considerable antiquity, since Kafiri *c* corresponds to Khowar *š*, and *s'v* has resulted in Khowar *šp*, a sound-change which dates back to before the time of As'oka

If we look for a possible Skt. etymology of **s'vātara-*, we find a Vedic word *s'vātrá-*, with its derivative *s'vā́trya-*, which presents a striking similarity to it. We must remember that Vedic *tr* is frequently pronounced *tar*, with svarabhakti[12].

The exact meaning of *s'vātrá-* is not known. Sāyaṇa gives the translation *kṣipra-*[13], and in the *Nighaṇṭu*, II, 10[14], it is included among the *dhananāmāni*, together with, i a. *bhojana* 'food'. Böhtlingk-Roth, on the other hand, translate *s'vātrá-* 'tasty, savoury' (food or drink), and *s'vā́trya-* 'savoury', while Geldner in his Glossar gives 'wholesome, invigorating, food', and *s'vā́trya-* 'invigorating'.

From VS. IV. 12 *s'vātrā́ḥ pītā́ bhavata yūyám ápaḥ* it appears that *s'vātrá-* was used about water which was drunk. Cf. also RV. VIII. 4. 9, *s'vātrabhā́jā váyasā* 'with strengthening food'[15]. RV. X. 46. 7, *s'vā-trā́so* is probably an epithet of *sómāḥ*, and in X. 49. 10 we find *s'vā́tryam sómam* 'the invigorating Soma'. Cf. also X. 160 2, *gíraḥ s'vātryā(ḥ)* 'the hymns strengthening (thee, Indra)', followed in the next line by *pāhi sómam*.

The translation of *s'vātrá-* given by Monier-Williams: 'strengthening, invigorating (as Soma)' is, therefore, probably correct. *Svātrá-* is, of course, derived from √*s'ū*, √*s'vi* 'to swell, grow, increase' and would originally mean 'growing, strengthening'.

11. Initial *p-*, *k-* are regularly lost in Prasun.

12. Oldenberg · *Ṛgveda*, p. 249. interprets *s'vātrā́so* (X, 46, 7). as *s'vātarāso*, or *s'uvātrāso*.

13. Cf. also *Nirukta*, V. 3 (Lakshman Sarup's ed. p. 93).

14. Lakshman Sarup's ed. p. 10.

15. Thus Aufrecht and Geldner.

In his article 'On the Ephedra, the Hūm Plant and the Soma'[16] Sir Aurel Stein revives Roth's identification of the Soma with the rhubarb. His argumentation has always seemed cogent to me. There is, in fact, no other plant growing in the mountains north-west of India and in eastern Iran which suits the descriptions given in the Veda and the Av. of the *somá-haoma*. The succulent stalks are tawny or golden *(hari-, zairi-gaona-)*, and the juice, when mixed with milk, are capable of giving a fermented beverage.[17]

It is difficult to resist the temptation to assume that the ancient Vedic epithet of the Soma still survives in the remote valleys of the Hindukush. If this is really the case, it gives additional support to Stein's thesis. The Kafirs have till quite recently retained their religion of an ancient Indian type, and Chitral was converted to Islam not many centuries ago. The Kafirs worshipped Indra as the god of the grape harvest and made libations of wine to him. They make their wine from grapes not from rhubarb. But the Skt. word for grape, *drākṣā-*, is post-Vedic,[18] and the substitution of the grape-wine for the rhubarb in the Kafir ritual may be an innovation, though possibly a quite early one.

It is at any rate noteworthy that an ancient epithet of the invigorating Soma remains possibly in use up to the present day among some Hindukush tribes, as the name of the plant from which the Soma was originally made.

16. *BSOS*, VI. pp. 501, sqq.

17. My colleague, Professor R. Nordhagen, kindly informs me that the milk-sugar would probably suffice for the fermentation In Norway, as in many other countries a kind of wine is made from rhubarb.

18. The Kafiri and some Dardic forms of this word are phonetically irregular: Kati *drōs* Prasun ***rasix***; Pashai *dēṣīk, dāṣka*.

A Terminological Lingua-franca for India

By

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In spite of the tremendous attention accorded to the problem of a Lingua-franca for India, the problem still remains baffling. But the very limitations of the previous attempts embolden the present writer to venture a new approach to the problem, viz., through a terminology radically based on Sanskrit.

China's example will be instructive in this connection. The difference between the various dialects spoken in China is so enormous that many of them are absolutely unintelligible to one another. But there is one bond, viz., a common script, which has given a Lingua-franca to the whole of China. So the question before us in India is : just as China has got a Lingua-franca only in a limited sense, could we not have in India a Lingua-franca in a limited sense, which may perhaps one day prove to be a transition to a full-fledged Lingua-franca ?

Fortunately, the basis of this 'limited' Lingua-franca is not far to seek. This basis is Skt., for certain characteristic features of Skt. offer us a promising material out of which something like a Lingua-franca may be constructed. Some of these features are as follows :—

1. *The wide intelligibility of the Skt. 'base'*

The Skt. word had two parts (*a*) non-grammatical, technically called the 'base', e.g., Skt. *jala-* 'water' and (*b*) grammatical part, technically the 'termination'. Now the linguistic history of Sanskritic languages shows us that these two parts had quite antipodal fates. The 'base' has persisted inspite of the ravages of centuries, and in view of this Sanskrit is not a dead language yet ; the 'termination' has either perished or been transformed. Thus the word *jala-* 'water' is understood in all parts of India, though its grammatical forms like *jalam* etc. are understood only by those who have studied Skt. systematically. The range of the Skt. base is so wide that it has reached even greater India, and on the basis of the Skt. base new words have been formed there. Cf. the following words in modern Siamese :— *cakrayāna* 'bicycle', *ākāśayāna* 'aeroplane', *jalapradāna* 'irrigation', *uparāja* 'a viceroy'.

2. *The marvellous unity of languages derived from Skt.*

But even the phonetic and grammatical changes which Skt. words have undergone indicate the marvellous unity of languages derived from Skt. Thus, for the sentence 'I am going home', Ḍogrī, a dialect spoken in Kashmir sub-mountain tracts, has *aũ* 'I' *kar* 'home' *jandā* 'am going' ; 1500 miles to the east, Calcutta has *āmi* 'I' *ghare* 'home' *jāchi* 'am going', while 1500 miles

down to the south, Poona has *mī* 'I' *gharī* 'home' *zātō* 'am going'. This marvellous similarity of these languages, considering the distances, will be particularly appreciated when we take into account the fact that France, only 25 miles from England, has *za vai sē mwā* 'I am going home', while Russia, about 400 miles from England, has *yā īdu damoi* 'I am going home'. In view of the tremendous difference between French and English, although spatially so near each other, Ḍogrī, Bengālī and Marāṭhī should be technically called not 'languages' in relation to one another, but sub-languages as Bloomfield[1] has suggested, while to the layman they will appear only in the relationship of dialects to one another. But the unity of Sanskritic languages will strike us as even more amazing when we take into account the Dravidian languages, which, though spatially so near each other, remarkably differ from one another ; cf. the Dravidian version of the same sentence : 'I am going home Tamil : *nān* 'I' *vīṭṭuku* 'home' *pohiren* 'am going', Telugu : *nainu* 'I' *inṭaki* 'home' *vailuçu unnānu* 'am going' ; Canarese : *nānu* 'I' *manage* 'home' *hōgutēnē* 'am going', Malayālam : *ñān* 'I' *vīṭal* 'home' *ponu* 'go' ; Tulu : *nān* 'I' *illaṛai* 'home' *popai* 'am going.'

A comparison of the Skt. derived sentences noted above will show that the corresponding words for 'I' etc. have the same base in all the three 'sub-languages' : the base has remained unchanged, though the phonetic and grammatical forms have undergone some change ; but even then the change is not so tremendous that the sentences could be taken as being entirely different from one another.

3. *The value of Sanskritic words for scientific terminology*

Considering the wide diffusion and their ready intelligibility, the bases of Skt. have a value for scientific Terminology which cannot be exaggerated. The following terms, for instance, will be understood far better than any of their foreign corresponding forms :—

jalodara- 'dropsy', lit. 'water in the abdomen'
aṇḍākāra- 'elliptical', lit. 'egg-shaped'
maladrava- 'diarrhoea', lit. 'flow of faecus'
garbhakos'a- 'uterus', lit. 'receptacle of the child'

Foreign expressions for these terms will never be comprehended intelligently ; if used in text-books, they will be only crammed by students, leading to intellectual ruin, as is well-known.

4. *The concrete in Skt. vocabulary*

A notable feature of Skt. vocabulary, particularly in scientific terminology, is the abundant occurrence of words in concrete form ; thus for the 'arc of a

1. *Language*, 1945, pp. 44, 54.

circle', the Skt. term is *cāpa-*, lit. meaning 'a bow'; for a 'magnet', it is *cumbaka-*, 'one who kisses'. When scientific terminology is couched in such concrete forms, they are easily picked up by the man of the street, and thus their educative value is great. This feature of Skt. is an additional advantage which would further facilitate the intelligibility of Sanskritic terminology.

5. *Intelligible brevity*

In order to save the brain from over-taxation due to lengthy words, Skt. also uses abbreviating but readily intelligible devices: thus it adds only the initial consonant of a verb to a word for the formation of various words in different contexts, cf. the following examples :—

oṣṭhaja- 'labial', lit. 'arising from the lips', the initial consonant *j* of *√jan* 'to be produced' being added to *oṣṭha-* 'lip'.

mathaja- 'butter', lit. 'arising from churning'.

anuga- 'a follower', lit. 'going after'.

It is on this happy basis, that words like *udaja-* 'hydrogen' have been formed by the editor-in-chief of the *Great Indian-English Dictionary.*

6. *Terseness and distinctness*

Allied to the above feature, there is terseness and distinctness in Skt. word-formation which not only further facilitates the intelligibility of Skt. words, but also leaves a vivid impression on the mind of the learner, so that they are enjoyed and fully remembered, even by a semi-educated man, cf. the following words :—

itihāsa- 'history', lit. 'so indeed was' (*iti* 'so' *ha* 'indeed' *āsa* 'was').

alaṁpuruṣīṇa- 'sufficient for a man'

alaṅkarmīṇa- 'competent to do any act'

In the above words, a whole phrase is compounded into a single terse word. The value of this terseness for scientific purposes will be acknowledged on all hands. Besides this terseness, there is a distinctness and directness in many terms, which further strengthen the impression of the learner, cf. the following words :—

ardha-vyāsa- 'radius of a circle', lit. 'half-diameter'. The source of English radius is Latin *radius* which means a 'rod',

ardha-sīrin- 'a cultivator (who takes half the crop for his labour)', lit. half-ploughman'. Such expressions, though seemingly telegraphic, become readily explicit for those familiar with Indian conditions.

7. *Thus a salvation for the Indian intellect*

With these many-sided advantages, as listed above, a Skt. terminology is bound to prove a salvation for the Indian intellect, which has tremendously degenerated while rotting in the prison-wall of cram, brought on by unintelligible

Latin, and Greek terminologies That even the British have suffered from these unnatural Latin and Greek terms has been thus declared by a British writer—: 'It is well-known that the level of intellectual education among the German people is far higher than in England. The difference is due largely to the respective merits of English and German as instruments of thought. The English man is hampered in his abstract thought by the difficulty of his verbal symbolism. If we wish to talk about eternal life, we must have recourse to the Latin word 'immortality', which is quite different from the everyday words 'die' and 'death'.[2]

8. *Advantages to the lexicographer :*
(a) Expressiveness and (b) Expansibility

For that branch of lexicography, which is engaged in coining new words, Skt. comes like a fortune, for it has the following additional advantages :—

(*a*) *Expressiveness.* Skt. can express the most abstruse abstract thought, for it has proved to be a wonderfully efficient medium of conveying the concept of abstraction, and composite though single concepts by means of single words, e.g. 'man's conquest of nature', a phrase consisting of four words can be expressed in the following single Skt. word—: *manuṣya-kṛta—prakṛti-vijaya* 'man made nature conquest'.

(*b*) *Expansibility.* The potentiality of the Skt. word to expand is enormous, as it freely uses a fourfold mechanism, viz. .—

(*i*) *Prefixes.* The prefixes in Skt. have unusual significative pOwer, e.g. *pra-hāra-* 'stroke', *ā-hāra-* 'food', *saṁ-hāra-* 'destruction' etc.

(*ii*) *Vowel-changes.* Skt. has the power to show changes of meaning by a mere change of the vowel, e.g. *nagara-* 'city', but *nāgara-* 'civic', *vis'a-* 'enter !' but *ves'a-* 'entrance' etc.

(*iii*) *Compounds.* That single compound words lead to brevity and speed, has been suggested by the compound illustrated under (*i*) above.

(*iv*) Like English and many other languages, Skt. uses perfixes abundantly, but much more freely than those languages, e.g. to indicate 'the nature of a horse' Skt. will use the suffix *-tva* after *as'va-* 'horse', the phrase being expressed by a single word *as'vatva-*.

N. B.— The abcve views are my personal views.

2. L. R. Palmer : *An Introduction to Modern Linguistics,* 1936, p. 178.

SECTION II
Vedic Studies

A Critical Study of the Ritualistic Sūtras

Bhāradvāja-Śrauta-Sūtra, Praśnas VI & VIII

By

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Bhāradvāja-śrauta-sūtra, one of those sūtras that belong to the *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā* was edited in 1934-5 by Dr. Raghu Vira in his *Journal of Vedic Studies*. The learned editor has unfortunately not published so far his study of that sūtra by writing an introduction to the edition. I may say that students of ritual literature are eagerly awaiting the completion of his worthy task.

The edition has undoubtedly been prepared in an efficient manner and an attempt has been made to present the text as accurately as possible. A few inaccuracies have, however, remained in the text on account of the scanty and defective manuscripts-material and also on account of wrong separation of sūtras. I have already suggested a few modifications in Praśna VII of this sūtra. It is proposed here to suggest modifications to a few sūtras in Praśnas VI and VIII dealing with the *Agnihotrahoma* and *Cāturmāsyas*.

It has already been pointed out that the *Bhāradvāja-śrauta-sūtra* might have been composed later than the *Baudhāyana* and prior to the *Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra*. The characteristics of the ritual laid down herein clearly bear out this position. *Āpastamba* gives separately the mantras to be recited by the sacrificer and the acts to be performed by him and strictly keeps silence about these things while dealing with mantras and performances of the adhvaryu. *Bhāradvāja* has also given the yajamāna collectively, but occasionally he speaks about it also while dealing with the functions of the adhvaryu. Thus the construction of the *Bhāradvāja-sūtra* is not so tight as that of the *Āpastamba*. *Baudhāyana* has given the yajamāna separately for the *Darśa-pūrṇamāsa* sacrifices only. In the *Piṇḍapitṛyajña*, according to *Baudhāyana*, the sacrificer himself performs all the functions beginning from the collection of materials down to the offering of piṇḍas, without the help of any priest. According to *Bhāradvāja*, *Āpastamba* and other sūtras the adhvaryu performs the preliminary things with the aid of the sacrificer's wife, and the sacrificer steps in only for the actual offering of the piṇḍas. The growing importance of the adhvaryu in the ordinary ritual performances is certainly a sign of later development.

In the *Darśa-pūrṇamāsa* sacrifices the adhvaryu gives in the āhavanīya

fire two libations of melted butter called *āghāras*, after throwing the burning sticks (*idhmādhāna*). According to the *Baudhāyana* (1.15) the course of these libations is from the centre of the southern border to the centre of the northern border and again from the centre of the western border towards the east. S'ālīki, an ancient Ācārya of the Baudhāyana school, lays down (*Baudh.* XX. 12) a different course, namely, from the north-west corner to the south-east. corner and from the south-west corner to the north-east. The *Bhāradvāja* (II. 12-13) follows S'ālīki. *Āpastamba* lays down four different courses,[1] two of which are the same as given above. Of the other two, one is on the southern and northern sides from west to east, and the other is on the western and eastern sides from south to north. In this manner the ritual is sometimes expanded in the *Āpastamba* and other sūtras.

Linguistically there is much affinity between the *Bhāradvāja* and *Āpastamba sūtras*. Their construction is similar, so much so that the text of the one can be verified in most cases by that of the other. The *Āpastamba sūtra* which is completely available with commentaries, is very valuable in fixing the text of the *Bhāradvāja*. It is more particularly so, since the MSS of the *Bhāradvāja sūtra* are not available in large number and are besides incorrect.

The difficulties in editing the s'rauta sūtras are enhanced, besides by the variant readings of the MSS, by the fact that the MSS give a running text of the sūtras and that there is no clue to know as to where a particular sūtra ends and where the next begins. One has to follow the ritual very closely for fixing the extent of the sūtras. For the convenience of easy reference the editor of the present sūtra has given numbers to the sūtras, following the practice of the editors of the *Āpastamba, Mānava* and other sūtras. This increases the responsibility of the editor in editing the sūtras. The text of certain sūtras as printed in the edition seems to require improvements in this repsect also. I, therefore, propose to take up a few sūtras from the Chapters dealing with the *Agnihotrahoma* and the *Cāturmāsyas* for discussion.

Agnihotrahoma

I. *Bh.* VI. 4. 9-10 :

भास्वतो विराजक्रमैरुपतिष्ठते ॥ ९ ॥ यथाग्न्याधेये समिधमादधाति, मम नाम प्रथमं जातवेद इत्येतया ॥ १० ॥

Sūtra 10th, as printed, begins with the word **यथाग्न्याधेये**. This word cannot form part of this sūtra for more than one reason. Firstly, there is no offering of a samidh with the mantra **मम नाम** etc. in *Agnyādheya*. Secondly, even if the word **यथाग्न्याधेये** is supposed to be a part of the sūtra, it cannot be the opening word of the sūtra ; it should have fittingly been placed at the end.

1. Āp. II. 12. 8 आघारयोर्वेदत्यजू प्राञ्चौ होतव्यौ तिर्यञ्चौ वा व्यतिषक्तावव्यतिषक्तौ वा ॥

Thirdly, the reference to *Agnyādheya* becomes superfluous when both the mantra and its application are given in the sūtra in clear terms. We have, therefore, to conclude that the word does not form the beginning of the 10th sūtra, but is, on the other hand, the last word of the 9th sūtra where it suits well. That sūtra asks the sacrificer to offer prayers by reciting the mantras called virājakrama in the *Agnihotrahoma* as in the *Agnyādheya*.

The Grantha MSS read **यथाग्न्याधेये** differently. Ga reads **यथाग्न्याधेय** while Gbc read **यथाग्न्याधेय आहवनीये.** The reading of Gbc seems preferable, since the mention of the fire in which the samidh is to be offered is essential. The reading of Ga also supports the reading of Gbc, as it reads **यथाग्न्याधेय** and not **यथाग्न्याधेये**, which means that it presumed **आहवनीये** to be the next word. Also compare *Bh.* VI. 6. 2: **आहवनीये समिध आदधाति** etc. Thus the right reading of the above two sūtras would be :

भास्वतो विराजक्रमैरुपतिष्ठते यथाग्न्याधेये ॥ ९ ॥ आहवनीये समिधमादधाति मम नाम प्रथमं जातवेद इत्येतया ॥ १० ॥

II. *Bh.* VI. 5. 9-10 :

भास्वतो विराजक्रमैरुपतिष्ठते ॥ ९ ॥ यथाग्न्याधेये अजूगुप इति मन्त्रं संनमति ॥ १० ॥

This is similar to *Bh.* VI. 4. 9-10 already dealt with. So here too the word **यथाग्न्याधेये** should be taken as the last word of the 9th sūtra. In fact *Bh.* VI. 5. 10 and VI. 6. 1 together make one whole sūtra. The author of the sūtra finished the 5th section or kaṇḍikā in the middle for unknown reason, hence the remaining part was considered as the first sūtra of the next section.

III. *Bh.* VI. 9. 3 :

यथाकामी नित्येन दोहनकल्पेन संमृशति ॥ ३ ॥

The sūtras prior to the present one give details and options regarding the milking of the agnihotrī cow. The instruction regarding the rubbing of the udders as given in the present sūtra is against the directions of the TS. as well as the other sūtras. The sūtras of the *Āpastamba* closely resemble the *Bhāradvāja.* It reads :

न स्तनान् संमृशति ॥ २ ॥ यथोपलम्भं नित्ये दोहनकल्पे दोग्धि ॥ ३ ॥ (*Āp.* VI. 4. 2-3).

In this light the reading **नित्ये** for **नित्येन** as given by DGa is very important. The right reading will, therefore, be: **यथाकामी नित्ये दोहनकल्पे ॥ न संमृशति ॥** and these two sūtras will correspond with the two sūtras of *Āpastamba* quoted above. Their meaning will be: 'Ordinarily he should milk any udders as he liked. He should not rub them'.

IV. *Bh.* VI. 13. 4-6 :

तथैव लेपमवमृज्य प्रजां मे यच्छेत्युपसाद्य प्राचीनावीती दक्षिणत: स्थण्डिले लेपं निमार्ष्टि ।४।। पितृभ्यस्त्वा पितॄन् जिन्वेत्यप उपस्पृश्य द्विरङ्गुल्या प्राश्नात्यशब्दं कुर्वन् पूषासीति ।। ५ ।। प्रथममप आचम्य गर्भेभ्यस्त्वा गर्भान् जिन्वेति द्वितीयम् ।। ६ ।।

After giving the oblation of milk in the āhavanīya fire, the adhvaryu cleanses the wooden spoon with his fingers in a specific manner, lays it down with the mantra प्रजां मे यच्छ, performs *prācīnāvīti* and removes the remains on his fingers to the ground in the southern direction. Then he touches and partakes of the milk remaining in the spoon twice with his finger. Then he sips water and again drinks the remaining milk. The fourth sūtra gives no mantra to be recited while removing the remains on the fingers ; in the fifth sūtra there are, on the other hand, two mantras पितृभ्यस्त्वा पितॄन् जिन्व and पूषासि. The latter mantra evidently refers to the drinking of milk while the former remains without a relative action. That mantra cannot be connected with the words इत्यप उपस्पृश्य because the touching of waters is nowhere connected with any mantra. It, therefore, follows that the first mantra पितृभ्यस्त्वा पितॄन् जिन्व must have formed part of the fourth sūtra. There is a similar mistake in the sixth sūtra. The words प्रथमं and द्वितीयं are related to the verb प्राश्नाति which is to be understood in this sūtra following its occurrence in the former. But both words cannot refer to the same verb at the same time. So the word प्रथमं must go to the fifth sūtra. The correct reading of 4-6 sūtras would therefore, be :

तथैव लेपमवमृज्य...लेपं निमार्ष्टि पितृभ्यस्त्वा पितॄन् जिन्वेति ।। ४ ।। अप उपस्पृश्य ...पूषासीति प्रथमम् ।। ५ ।। अप आचम्य...इति द्वितीयम् ।। ६ ।।

Cf. *Āp*. VI. 11. 4-5 :

पूर्ववल्लेपमवमृज्य प्राचीनावीती स्वधा पितृभ्य: पितॄञ्जिन्वेति दक्षिणेन वेदिं भूम्यां लेपं निमृज्य प्रजां मे यच्छेति स्रुचं सादयित्वा वृष्टिरसि वृश्च मे पाप्मानमृतात्सत्यमुपागामिति हुत्वाप उपस्पृश्यान्तर्वेदि स्रुक् । अथाङ्गुल्यापादाय पूषासीति लेपं प्राश्नात्यशब्दं कुर्वन्नतिहाय दत: ।। ४ ।। अप आचम्यैवं पुन: प्राश्याचम्य बर्हिषोपयम्योदङ्ङावृत्योत्सृप्य गर्भेभ्यस्त्वा गर्भान् etc.

Cāturmāsyas

V. *Bh.* VIII. 2. 25 :
सर्वमन्तत उपभृतस्थाने पृषदाज्यमभिघारयति ।। २५ ।।

This sūtra taken as a whole does not bring out the proper meaning. In fact here are two separate sūtras :

सर्वमन्तत उपभृत: स्थाने[2] । पृषदाज्यमभिघारयति ।।

2. The printed sūtra reads उपभृतस्थाने which is in fact उपभृतस्थाने i.e., उपभृत: स्थाने.

The subject here is the prayāja offerings in the Vaiśvadevaparvan of the *Cāturmāsya* sacrifices. The sūtra lays down that the adhvaryu should offer nine prayājas and that he should put the clarified butter from the upabhṛt spoon in the juhū for every 4th offering, that is, at the time of the 4th and 8th offerings. The sūtra **सर्वमन्तत उपभृतः स्थाने** means that he should take the whole remaining butter from the upabhṛt at the last time, i.e., at the 8th offering. The other sūtra **पृषदाज्यमभिधारयति** lays down that the adhvaryu should drop butter remaining in the juhū on the pṛṣadājya after the prayāja offerings.

VI. *Bh.* VIII. 3. 7 :

संवत्सरीणां स्वस्तिमाशास्ते—दिव्यं धामाशास्त[3] इति सूक्तवाकं जपति ।

In the printed text **दिव्यं धामाशास्ते** is printed in small type, meaning that only that part is the mantra. In fact **संवत्सरीणां स्वस्तिमाशास्ते** also forms part of the mantra. To the sūktavāka mantra recited by the hotṛ priest in the *Darśa-pūrṇamāsa* sacrifice, is added in the *Cāturmāsyas* the part **संवत्सरीणां स्वस्तिमाशास्ते** before **दिव्यं धामाशास्ते.** So both these parts should have been printed in small type. This sūtra occurs again in *Bh.* VIII. 9. 13. Cf. *Āp.* VIII 3. 4 ; 7. 8 :

संवत्सरीणां स्वस्तिमाशास्ते दिव्यं धामाशास्त इति सूक्तवाकस्याशिःषु होतानुवर्तयते ॥

VII. *Bh.* VIII. 9. 15 ; 10. 1–2 :

आ त्वा विशन्त्विन्दवः ॥ आ वक्षा धमनीनां रसेन मे रसं पृण । तस्य ते वाजिभिर्भक्ष-कृतस्योपहूतस्योपहूतो भक्षयामीति ॥ १५ ॥ ॥ ९ ॥ दक्षिणं वाजिनं भक्षयति वाजिनां भक्षोऽवतु वाजोऽस्मान् रेतः सिक्तममृतं बलाय । स न इन्द्रियं द्रविणं दधातु मा रिषाम वाजिनं भक्षयन्तः ॥ तस्य त उपहूतस्योपहूतो भक्षयामीति ॥ १ ॥ उत्तरमुभौ कस्तम्भ्यां स्रुचौ सादयतः ॥ २ ॥

Here also the division of sūtras is wrong. The 15th sūtra simply gives the mantra and does not indicate the action following the same. The word **उत्तरं** is superfluous in VIII. 10. 2. All the three sūtras would give the right meaning if we transfer the words **दक्षिणं वाजिनं भक्षयति** in VIII. 10. 1 to VIII. 9. 15 and the word **उत्तरं** in VIII. 10. 2 to VIII. 10. 1. So the text will be :

आ त्वा विशन्त्विन्दवः ...भक्षयामीति दक्षिणं वाजिनं भक्षयति ॥१५॥ ॥ ९ ॥ वाजिनां भक्षोऽवतु...भक्षयामीत्युत्तरम् ॥१॥ उभौ कस्तम्भ्यां स्रुचौ सादयतः ॥ २ ॥

Even granting that the 9th kaṇḍikā ends with the words **भक्षयामि इति** in the 15th sūtra, the remaining part **दक्षिणं वाजिनं भक्षयति** should have been made a separate sūtra ; it should not have been amalgamated with **वाजिनां भक्षोऽवतु** etc. The sūtrakāras are always in the habit of closing a kaṇḍikā in the middle of a sūtra. Their principle in fixing the limits of the kaṇḍikās is not known. Cf. also *Bh.* VI. 5. 10 ; VIII. 13. 16 ; *Āp.* VIII. 17. 12 ; VIII. 21. 11 etc.

3. **धामाशासे** in the printed text is a misprint.

VIII. *Bh.* VIII. 11. 2-3 :

अग्नयेऽनीकवते पुरोडाशमष्टाकपालं निर्वपति ॥ २ ॥ साकं सूर्येणोद्यता साकं रश्मिभिः प्रचरन्तीत्येकेषाम् ॥३॥

Here the third sūtra does not give definite meaning. It really denotes, the actual offering to Agni, anīkavat at two optional times. साकं सूर्येणोद्यता means 'exactly at sunrise' and साकं रश्मिभिः means 'at the appearance of rays'. Really the words साकं सूर्येणोद्यता should go to the former sūtra. The meaning of both the sūtras would then be that 'the adhvaryu should pour out the offering on eight potsherds to Agni, anīkavat exactly at sunrise; some hold that he should make the actual offering at the appearance of rays'. Cf. TS. 1. 8. 4; TB. 1. 6. 6; *Bh.* VIII. 13. 11; Āp. VIII. 9. 2-3 reads :—

अग्नयेऽनीकवते पुरोडाशमष्टाकपालं निर्वपति साकं सूर्येणोद्यता ॥ २ ॥ साकं वा रश्मिभिः प्रचरन्ति ॥३॥

IX. *Bh.* VIII. 13. 10–11 :

मरुद्भ्यः क्रीडिभ्यः पुरोडाशं सप्तकपालं निर्वपति ॥१०॥ साकं सूर्येणोद्यता साकं रश्मिभिः प्रचरन्तीत्येकेषाम् ॥११॥ Cf. *Bh.* VIII. 11. 2-3.

The sūtras should read :

मरुद्भ्यः क्रीडिभ्यः पुरोडाशं सप्तकपालं निर्वपति साकं सूर्येणोद्यता ॥१०॥ साकं रश्मिभिः प्रचरन्तीत्येकेषाम् ॥११॥ Cf. Āp. VIII. 11 22 :

मरुद्भ्यः क्रीडिभ्यः स्वतवद्भ्यो वा सप्तकपालं निर्वपति । साकं सूर्येणोद्यता साकं वा रश्मिभिः प्रचरन्ति ॥

Here the daṇḍa before निर्वपति is wrong. It should be after सूर्येणोद्यता just like Āp. VIII. 9. 2–3. The commentator Rudradatta here refers to the previous occurrence by saying ग्रन्थोऽयमानीकवतेन व्याख्यातः। Cf. *TS.* I, 8. 4; *TB.* I. 6. 7.

X. *Bh.* VIII. 13. 15–16 ; 14. 1-2 :

महाहविषां तन्त्रं प्रक्रमयति ॥१५॥ तेषां वरुणप्रघासैः कल्पो व्याख्यातोऽन्यत्रावभृथात् ॥१६॥ ॥१३॥ आमिक्षयोर्दक्षिणाद्विहारादिति ॥१॥ समानमा निर्वपणात् ॥२॥

These sūtras deal with the *mahāhavis* in the *Sākamedhaparvan.* The sūtra says that the ritual of the *mahāhavis* is the same as that of the *varuṇapraghāsaparvan* except the *avabhṛtha* ceremony, the two *āmikṣā* offerings and the formation of the southern vihāra. So the two sūtras तेषां वरुणप्रघासैः ... and आमिक्षयोः ... should really be one. Cf. Āp. VIII 12. 1–2. The 13th kaṇḍikā was finished for unknown reason after the words ऽन्यत्रावभृथात्, so the remaining part of the sūtra was considered as the first sūtra in the next kaṇḍikā. See *Bh.* VIII. 9. 15.

11. *Bh.* VIII. 14. 3 : वैश्वकर्मणामेककपालमिति ॥ ३ ॥ वैश्वकर्मणा° is a misprint for वैश्वकर्मण° . See *TS.* I. 8. 4; *TB.* I. 6. 7.

XII. *Bh.* VIII. 16. 20-21 .

अग्रे बर्हिर्गृहीत्वा प्रसव्यमग्निं त्रिः स्तृणन् पर्यैति त्रिरस्तृणन् प्रतिपर्यैति ॥२०॥ अया विष्ठा जनयन् कर्वराणीत्यूर्ध्वं धारयमाणः सप्रस्तरो भवति ॥२१॥

In the *Mahāpitṛyajña*, the adhvaryu should take the darbha grass with its end towards the east, should spread it around fire three times by the left side and should again go around the fire three times by the right side with the mantra अया विष्ठा जनयन् कर्वराणि. The darbha grass remaining in his hand he should retain as the prastara. The sūtra should, therefore, read :

अग्रे बर्हिर्गृहीत्वा प्रसव्यमग्निं त्रिः स्तृणन् पर्यैति ॥२०॥ त्रिरस्तृणन् प्रतिपर्यैति अया विष्ठा जनयन् कर्वराणीति । ऊर्ध्वं धारयमाण· सप्रस्तरो भवति ॥२१॥

See *TB.* 1. 6. 8 ; Cf. *Bh.* VIII. 19. 10 :

उदकुम्भमादाय प्रसव्यमग्निं त्रिः परिषिञ्चन् पर्यैति शुन्धन्तां पितर इति । त्रिरपरिषिञ्चन् प्रतिपर्यैति अया विष्ठा जनयन् कर्वराणीति ॥

XIII. *Bh.* VIII. 21. 6 :

उत्तरपूर्वमवान्तरदेशं गत्वाखूत्कर एकोल्मुकमुपवपति यावन्तो गृह्याः स्मस्तेभ्यः कमकरम् इति ॥६॥

The MSS Gbc rightly read एकमुपवपति for एकोल्मुकमुपवपति. In the *Tryambakahoma* to be performed immediately after the *Mahāpitṛyajña*, as many cakes on one potsherd as the family members of the sacrificer (with an additional one) are to be prepared and put in one or more baskets. The adhvaryu takes out of the dakṣiṇāgni a burning stick towards the west. Then he goes to the north-east and places a cake with the mantra यावन्तो गृह्याः स्मस्तेभ्यः कमकरम् on the earth carved out by a mouse. He places a cake, not the fire-brand. He places the fire-brand at the crossroad, kindles fire and offers in it from all the cakes. Cf. the next sūtra: चतुष्पथ एकोल्मुकमुपसमाधाय etc. Cf. Āp VIII. 17. 9 :

उत्तरपूर्वमवान्तरदेशं गत्वाखुस्ते रुद्र पशुरित्याखूत्कर एकं पुरोडाशमुपवपति ॥

XIV. *Bh.* VIII. 21. 7-9 :

चतुष्पथ एकोल्मुकमुपसमाधाय संपरिस्तीर्य मध्यमे पलाशपलाश उपस्तीर्यान्तमे वा सर्वेषामेककपालानां सकृत्सकृत्समवदायाभिघार्य जुहोति ॥ ७ ॥ एष ते रुद्र भागः सह स्वस्राम्बिकया तं जुषस्व स्वाहेति हुतं यजमानोऽनुमन्त्रयते ॥ ८ ॥ भेषजं गव इति द्वाभ्यां प्रतिपूरुषमेककपाल-मादाय प्रदक्षिणं चतुष्पथं त्रिः परियन्ति त्र्यम्बकं यजामह इत्येतया ॥९॥

In the *Tryambakahoma* the adhvaryu offers from all the cakes with the mantra एष ते रुद्र भागः etc. The sacrificer recites the two mantras beginning with भेषजं गवे. The family members take in their hands one cake each and go round the cross-road three times by the right side with the mantra त्र्यम्बकं यजामहे etc. The mantra एष ते रुद्र भागः in the 8th sūtra is really a part of the 7th, and the words भेषजं गव इति द्वाभ्यां in the 9th belong to the 8th. The text therefore, would be :

चतुष्पथ एकोल्मुकमुपसमाधाय ''जुहोत्येष ते रुद्र भागः'' 'जुषस्व स्वाहेति ॥७॥ हुतं यजमानोऽनुमन्त्रयते भेषजं गव इति द्वाभ्याम् ॥८॥ प्रतिपूरुषं''यजामह इत्येतया ॥९॥

Cf. Āp. VIII. 17. 12. 18, 1 :

चतुष्पथ एकोल्मुकमुपसमाधाय संपरिस्तीर्य सर्वेषां पुरोडाशानामुत्तरार्धात्सकृत्सकृदवदाय मध्यमेनान्तमेन वा पलाशपर्णेन जुहोति ॥१२॥ ॥१७॥ एष ते रुद्र भागः सह स्वस्राम्बिकया तं जुषस्व स्वाहेति भेषजं गव इत्येताभ्यां etc.

Here the sūtra एष ते रुद्र etc. has gone to the next sūtra because the 17th kaṇḍikā was closed with the word जुहोति. See the sūtra quoted in Sāyaṇa's commentary on TS. 1. 8. 6.

XV. *Bh.* VIII. 22. 6-7 :

अनुपरिषिच्य मार्जयन्ते सुमित्रा न आप ओषधयः सन्त्विति समिधः कृत्वा प्रतीक्षमायन्त्येधोऽस्येधिषीमहीति ॥६॥ आहवनीये समिध आधायोपतिष्ठन्त अपो अन्वचारिषमिति ॥७॥

Here the 6th sūtra excluding the mantra एधोऽस्येधिषीमहि इति should have really been divided into two sūtras. Having fastened the basket full of cakes to a tree beyond the cow-stall, the family members of the sacrificer should sprinkle water around themselves and also upon themselves with the mantra सुमित्रा न आप ओषधयः सन्तु. Then they should take samidhs into their hands and should return home without looking behind.[4] They should offer the samidhs in the Āhavanīya fire with the mantra एधोऽस्येधिषीमहि and should offer prayer to the same with the mantra अपो अन्वचारिषम्. See TS. So the correct text would be :

अनुपरिषिच्य मार्जयन्ते सुमित्रा न आप ओषधयः सन्त्विति ॥६॥ समिधः कृत्वाप्रतीक्षमायन्ति ॥७॥ एधोऽस्येधिषीमहीत्याहवनीये समिधमाधायोपतिष्ठन्त अपो अन्वचारिषमिति ॥८॥

Cf. Āp. 8. 18. 10 :

अपः परिषिच्याप्रतीक्षास्तूष्णीमेत्यैधोऽस्येधिषीमहीत्याहवनीये समिध आधायापो अन्वचारिषमित्युपतिष्ठन्ते ॥

XVI. *Bh.* VIII. 24. 14 :

सोमशक्तौ पशुना यजेत । पशुशक्तौ पुनः प्रयोगश्चातुर्मास्यानाम् ॥

This portion is not contained in the MSS DGbc. There should be सोमाशक्तौ and पश्वशक्तौ in place of सोमशक्तौ and पशुशक्तौ.

As is said by Dr. Raghu Vira, the study of the commentaries on the s'rauta sūtras renders much help in verifying the text of many passages in the śrauta. Rudradatta on Āp. VIII. 21. 2. quotes the following passage from the *Bhāradvāja-śrauta-sūtra* which is not found in the same :-

तथानुग्रहान्तरमप्यत्र भारद्वाजेनोक्तम्—आ वरुणप्रघासानां कालाद्वैश्वदेवस्य कालो नातीयादा साकमेधानां कालाद्वरुणप्रघासानां कालो नातीयादा शुनासीरीयस्य कालात्साकमेधानां कालो नातीयादिति । कालातिक्रमेष्वापदि यजेतेति ॥[5]

4. The reading कृत्वा प्रतीक्ष° in the sūtra is a misprint. It should be कृत्वाप्रतीक्ष°.

5. Cf. BDh-S'r. XXVIII, 12.

Śiśnadeva in the Ṛgveda and Phallus Worship in the Indus Valley

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The Indus Valley Civilisation, which has been the most epochmaking discovery of this century in India, has given rise to numerous fresh problems for study and investigation, and has necessitated reconsideration of various points connected with Vedic studies in the light of new discoveries. The excavations have brought to light a number of conical and cylindrical stones as well as ringstones, which have been regarded as suggestive of the productive and fertilising powers of nature symbolising phallic emblems.[1] This has been taken to indicate the prevalence of phallic worship in the chalcolithic period in the Indus Valley.

Without entering into the details of the controversial problem as to the chronological position of the Indus Valley Civilisation and the *Ṛgveda* it is proposed to consider here whether the *Ṛgveda* affords any evidence of phallus worship (*Liṅga-pūjā*). The conclusion would, of course, be of some value for deciding the chronological aspect of both, and we shall incidentally refer to it at the end.

The word *śiśnádeva* occurs in the following two stanzas of the *Ṛgveda* :-[2]

I. न यातव इन्द्र जूजुवुर्नो न वन्दना शविष्ठ वेद्याभिः ।
स शर्धदर्यो विषुणस्य जन्तोर्मा शिश्नदेवा अपि गुर्ऋतं नः ॥ *RV*. VII. 21. 5.

II. स वाजं यातापदुष्पदा यन् त्स्वर्षाता परि षदत् सनिष्यन् ।
अनर्वा यच्छतदुरस्य वेदो घ्नञ्छिश्नदेवाँ अभि वर्पसा भूत् ॥ *RV*. X. 99. 3.

It has been interpreted by all European scholars and most of the

1. Cf. Marshall : *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation*, I, pp. 58 ff ; Mackay *Early Indus Civilisations*, pp. 61-2 ; Dikshit · *Prehistoric Civilisation of the Indus Valley*, pp. 34-5.

2. The stanzas have been translated by Griffith in his *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, Vol. II, pp. 24, 537, respectively as under :—

I. "No evil spirits have impelled us, Indra, nor fiends, O Mightiest God, with their devices.

Let our true God subdue the hostile rabble : let not the lewd approach our holy worship".

II. "On most auspicious path he goes to battle ; he toiled to win heaven's light, full fain to gain it ;

He seized the hundred-gated castle's treasure by craft, un-checked, and slew the lustful demons."

meant 'worshipper of', and gained the secondary connotation of 'devoted to', 'addicted to', etc. at a later stage. That this was not the case may be seen from the *Ṛgveda* itself, where we get such words as *ugrádeva* (*RV*. I. 36. 18), *śauradevyá* i.e., patronymic of *śūradeva* (*RV*. VIII. 70. 15), *mūradeva* (*RV*. VII. 104. 24; X. 87. 2, 14), *ánṛtadeva* (*RV*. VII. 104. 14). These words show that no worship was intended by *deva*, the second member of the compound, indicating that the traditional interpretation had its roots as far back as the days of the *Ṛgveda*, and that the word *deva* (as the second member of the compound) had already attained in the *Ṛgveda* the sense of 'devoted (*parāyaṇa*) to' some object—not necessarily a worshipper. The word *anṛtadeva* is on all fours with *śiśnádeva*, and lends unique support to the traditional interpretation. Mm. Dr. Kane, who has cursorily dealt with the subject in his monumental work, from which some of the above references have been taken, concludes that '*śiśnádeva* could hardly mean, 'those who worship phallus as god'.[8] The present writer concurs with this view. It will thus be seen that there is no reference to phallus worship in the *Ṛgveda*.

Turning to the interpretation of the Western scholars we find that Macdonell and Keith, and practically all European scholars, and most of the modern Indian Sanskritists take *śiśnádeva* to mean 'phallus worshipper' and postulate the prevalence of phallus worship in Ṛgvedic times. Dr. Sarup lent his support to this meaning and considered Yāska's interpretation to be incorrect and not acceptable.[9] He stated that the *bahuvrīhi* compound *śiśnádeva* means nothing else than 'phallus worshipper' (lit. those whose deity is phallus). There is no doubt that *śiśnádeva* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound and Sāyaṇa's explanation of the word as *śiśnena dīvyanti krīḍante* is not correct, though his subsequent meaning, viz. *abrahmacaryāḥ*, which sums up his interpretation, is quite correct. Dr. Karmarkar evidently takes *śiśnádeva* as *madhyamapadalopin* and interprets it as *śiśna-yuktāḥ devāḥ* (gods who have *śiśnas*), making the term applicable to the gods of the aborigines as a word of abuse.[10] This interpretation, however, is farfetched and gets support from nowhere. The correct interpretation of the word seems to be *śiśnam deva iva yeṣām*, and it means those who revere *śiśna* (phallus) just like god (i.e. addicted to phallus) or men of lustful character.

There is yet another very strong argument against taking *śiśnádeva* in the sense of 'phallus worshipper'. This interpretation would indicate prevalence of image worship in Ṛgvedic times, whether phallus worship be taken as an Aryan or a non-Aryan institution. That the Vedic people did not

8. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, p. 708.

9. *Ind. Cult.* IV, p. 159 ; *Woolner Comm. Vol.* p. 234.

10. *Religions of India*, I. p. 82.

practise image worship[11] and that its prevalence is inferred on a wrong interpretation of *RV*. IV. 24. 10 (which is taken to mean an image of Indra for which ten cows were not an adequate price),[12] has been conclusively proved by Prof. Velankar in his Kaushika Lectures on the 'Origin and Development of Bhakti' delivered recently at Poona.[13] It would thus appear that the interpretation phallus worshipper runs counter to a well-recognised fact.

Before turning to the nationality or race of the *śiśnádevas* (so-called phallus worshippers), whether they came from the Aryan fold or were non-Aryans, let us make some observation about *Liṅga* worship in ancient India. It will be seen that *Liṅga* worship dates back to the neolithic times in India. There is a very fine specimen of phallus, made of pale gneiss stone, which goes back to neolithic age; it was found on the Shevaroy hills in Salem District, and forms part of the Foote Collection.[14] There are also several stone liṅgas found from different neolithic sites in southern India. Earthen phallic symbols from neolithic times have been recovered from various places in Baroda District.[15] As contrasted with this, we find that phallus worship was a rarity among the Indo-Europeans. It has already been shown that there is no reference to phallus worship in the *Ṛgveda*. Even later Vedic literature and the Sūtras do not contain any reference to the Liṅga cult, which appears for the first time in the Tantras, Purāṇas and Epics—fused with the cult of Śiva. Some scholars seek allusions to phallus worship in the Aśvamedha ritual and other rites of the *Yajurveda* and state that the phallus worship received recognition in later Vedic literature. It appears, however, that

11. Cf. Banerjea · *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 73 · In the early Vedic religion 'there was no place for image worship.'

12. Cf. Keith . *Cam. Hist. Ind.* I. p. 97. *RV*. IV. 24. 10 runs as follows :—

क इमं दशभिर्ममेन्द्रं क्रीणाति धेनुभिः ।
यदा वृत्राणि जङ्घनदथैनं मे पुनर्ददत् ॥

Griffith translates as under *op. cit.*, I, p, 427) · —

"Who for ten milch-kine purchaseth from me this Indra who is mine ?

When he hath slain the Vṛtras let the buyer give him back to me."

Keith takes this as an argument in support of the prevalence of image worship in the days of the *Ṛgveda*. See also Banerjea . *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 39-77, and the references mentioned there.

13. The lectures were delivered in Marathi and will be published soon. For the benefit of scholars not knowing Marathi as also to reach a wider field and in order to invite comments, Prof. Velankar is publishing a paper in English stating his views and conclusions. I record here my sincere gratitude to him for the ungrudging and valuable help that I always receive from him.

14. R. B. Foote · *Foote Collection of Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities*, p. 61.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 139,

the references do not indicate phallus worship but some sort of magic for fertility. From the facts mentioned above, viz. that specimens of phallus are found in neolithic and chalcolithic times, but there is no reference in early literature to phallus worship, it seems a legitimate inference that as in other countries, phallus worship is a non-Aryan institution, that Aryans in India also, as elsewhere, did not take kindly to it at the beginning; but later on, due to contact and association with the non-Aryans, incorporated it in their religious cults in order to attract and cater for the non-Aryan element in the society.

Who were these *śiśnádevas* (wrongly called phallus worshippers)? They are said to have been the enemies overthrown by Indra. There is nothing in the *Ṛgveda* to show that the stanzas pertaining to *śiśnádevas* indicate any people racially distinct from the seers of the hymns. Different scholars ascribe to them various nationalities, or races, or characteristics. European scholars generally take them to be non-Aryan aboriginals,—the snubnosed, non-sacrificing, Dāsas, and, as already stated, *śiśnádevas* were phallus worshippers according to these scholars. But this cannot be inferred with certainty. Even Dr. Keith, who takes these to be aborigines, could not ignore the probability of these being Aryans; for he says: 'Or again they [phallus worshippers] may simply be mentioned as defeated by Indra, as princes whom we have no reason to doubt as Aryan are represented as being defeated for another prince by the aid of the god, as when for Turvayāṇa, Āyu, Atithigva and Kutsa are overthrown'.[16] Dr. Sarup rightly suggests that as the barbarians or the non-Aryans were beyond the pale of Aryan dharma and could not penetrate to the sanctuary of the Aryans, the reference is to the 'persons of the Aryan race'.[17] There were various sects and factions among the Aryan people, and the hostile people and the enemies overthrown by Indra formed part of the Aryans. Prof. Dikshita takes *śiśnádevas* to refer to the fallen *yatis* mentioned in *RV*. VIII. 3. 9.[18] According to Dr. Banerjea they probably indicate Rākṣasas, presumably the original settlers of India.[19]

Finally, we come to the chronological considerations based on our conclusions in this connection. Hitherto it has been generally held that the *Ṛgveda* deprecatingly refers to non-Aryan phallus worshippers, and phallus worship was current among the people of the Indus Valley; the non-Aryan phallus worshippers mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* were the descendants of the Indus

16. *Religion and Philosophy of Veda and Upanishads*, XXXI, p. 129,
17. *Ind. Cult.*, IV, p. 159,
18. *Journal of the Madras University*, 1934, p. 11.
19. *Dev. Hindu Icon.*, pp. 69-70.

Valley people. This view takes the date of the *Ṛgveda* to be 1500 B.C., and it is naturally regarded as posterior in time to the Indus Valley Civilisation. Dr. Sarup, who interprets *śiśnádevas* as 'phallus worshippers' but applies the term to the Aryans, takes the date of the *Ṛgveda* to be prior to 3000 B.C., and states that phallus worship, which was abhorrent to the people of the *Ṛgveda*, gradually acquired recognition in later times, and the Indus Valley Civilisation represents the later stage[20]. According to the correct interpretation of the term, as already shown above, *śiśnádeva* refers to the non-celibates or sensuous people among the Aryan fold, and there is absolutely no reference to phallus worship in the *Ṛgveda*. Further, it has also been shown that there was no image worship in the days of the *Ṛgveda*. The worship of icons followed the Ṛgvedic culture, and phallus worship, as seen in the Indus Valley, came later in the wake of the worship of Śiva.

20. *Summaries of Papers*, *Or. Conf.*, Hyderabad, pp. 122 f ; *Ind. Cult.*, IV, pp. 155 ff.

ऋग्वेदे छन्दःपरामर्शः

निबन्धकः—कुञ्जन् राजः, तेहरान

वेदाचार्यं स्वरूपाढ्यं संस्मरन् लक्ष्मणं हृदा ।
ऋग्वेदच्छन्दसां तत्त्वं कुञ्जन्-राजेन चिन्त्यते ॥ १ ॥

छन्दांस्यृग्वेदे प्रायेण विभक्तान्यत्र सप्तधा ।
गायत्र्युष्णिगनुष्टुप् च बृहती पङ्क्तिरेव च ॥ २ ॥

त्रिष्टुब्जगत्यावित्येवम्; अतिच्छन्दांसि तत्परम् ।
सन्ति सप्तातिजगती शक्वरी चातिशक्वरी ॥ ३ ॥

अष्ट्यत्यष्टी धृतिश्चातिधृतिश्चेति; तदुत्तरम् ।
कृतिप्रकृत्याकृतयस्ततो विकृतिसंकृती ॥ ४ ॥

अभिकृत्युत्कृती चैवं सप्तान्यान्यपि सन्ति हि ।
ऋग्वेदे किन्तु नैतानि दृश्यन्ते सप्त कुत्रचित् ॥ ५ ॥[1]

संख्याऽक्षराणां गायत्र्यां विंशतिश्चतुरुत्तरा ।
चतुर्भिरक्षरैर्वृद्धिमाप्नुवन्तीतराण्यपि ॥ ६ ॥

सन्त्यक्षराण्यतिधृतेः षट्सप्ततिरथोत्कृतेः ।
शतं चतुर्भिरधिकमक्षराणामिति स्थितिः ॥ ७ ॥

छन्दांसि मा प्रमेत्यादीन्यन्यानि विविधान्यपि ।
ग्रन्थान्तरेषु लक्ष्यन्ते प्रातिशाख्यादिषु क्वचित् ॥ ८ ॥[2]

उक्ताऽत्युक्ता च मध्या च छन्दसामस्ति पञ्चकम् ।
प्रतिष्ठा सुप्रतिष्ठा चेत्येवं गायत्रपूर्वगम् ॥ ९ ॥

चतुरक्षरसंयुक्ता तेषामुक्ताऽऽदिमा; ततः ।
भवन्ति सुप्रतिष्ठायामक्षराणां तु विंशतिः ॥१०॥

गायत्र्यादीन्यतिधृतिपर्यन्तानि चतुर्दश ।
ऋक्संहितायां दृश्यन्ते छन्दांस्येतेषु केवलम् ॥११॥

तस्माच्छन्दांसि तान्येव विमर्शायाद्रियेऽधुना ।
उपन्यासे तदन्यानि त्यज्यन्तेऽनुपयोगतः ॥१२॥

स्वोपज्ञवैदिकच्छन्दश्चर्चायाः क्रियतेऽधुना ।
इयं संस्कृतभाषायां कुञ्जन्-राजेन टिप्पणिः ॥

१. किन्तु एतानि कृत्यादीनि छन्दांसि इतरवेदेषु दृश्यन्ते ।

२. ऋग्वेदप्रातिशाख्ये—१७-३३; वा. सं. १४. १८; तै. सं. ४. ३. ७ ।

पादा भवन्ति चत्वारः श्लोके; संख्या विभाजिका ।
एकाक्षरेण वृद्ध्या तु पादानां कल्पिता ततः ॥१३॥[3]
ऋक्पादानां स्वभावोऽत्र गणितो नैव लक्ष्यते ।
ऋक्षु पादा न चत्वारो दृश्यन्ते बहुशो यतः ॥१४॥

ऋक्छन्दसां विभागोऽयमक्षरैश्चतुरुत्तरैः ।
न स्वीकार्यः ; विभागाय मानमन्यदपेक्ष्यते ॥१५॥

सन्त्यृक्षु त्रिविधाः पादाः ; एकोऽत्राष्टाक्षरस्ततः ।
एकादशाक्षरश्चान्यस्तृतीयो द्वादशाक्षरः ॥१६॥

एतेषामेव पादानां विकारा इतरे मताः ।
वैराजाद्याश्च विरलाः सहन्ते नेत्रमीलनम् ॥१७॥[4]

त्रिभिरष्टाक्षरैः पादैर्गायत्री निर्मिता भवेत् ।
पादैरनुष्टुबपि च चतुर्भिः स्यात्तथाविधैः ॥१८॥[5]

गायत्र्या सह पादार्धं यदा संयोज्यते तदा ।
उष्णिक्संज्ञं भवेच्छन्दः ; यदा चेत्थमनुष्टुभा ॥१९॥[6]

छन्दस्तदा तु बृहती ; नैतच्छन्दोऽन्तरं द्वयम् ।
अर्धपादस्यैतयोस्तु स्थानं क्लृप्तं न विद्यते ॥२०॥[6]

गायत्र्यनुष्टुभोश्चापि बृहत्या उष्णिहस्तथा ।
पादसंख्यागतो भेदो मिथो नैव स्वरूपतः ॥२१॥

एकादशाक्षरैः पादैश्चतुर्भिस्त्रिष्टुबन्विता ।
द्वादशाक्षरपादैस्तु चतुर्भिर्जगती तथा ॥२२॥[7]

त्रैष्टुभ्यश्चापि जागत्यः सूक्ते सन्ति ऋचः क्वचित् ।
ऋच्येकस्यां त्रैष्टुभाश्च सन्ति पादाश्च जागताः ॥२३॥

३. यद्येकैकः पादः एकैकेनाक्षरेण वृद्धिं नीतो भवति तदानीं श्लोकानाम् अक्षरचतुष्केण वृद्धि-रित्येवम् अक्षरचतुष्केण वृद्धिः वैदिके छन्दस्यप्यादृता ।

४. एकाक्षरादिन्यूनानां निचृदादिसंज्ञा प्रसिद्धा । वैराजो दशाक्षरः पादः । आदिशब्देन सप्त-नवत्रयोदशाक्षराः पादा गृह्यन्ते । नेत्रमीलनम् अनादरम् उपेक्षाम् ।

५. गायत्री ८. ८. ८ ; अनुष्टुप् ८. ८. ८. ८ ।

६. उष्णिक् ८. ८. १२=८. ८. ८. ४; पुरउष्णिक् १२. ८. ८=८. ४. ८. ८; ककुप् ८. १२. ८=८. ८. ४. ८ ।
बृहती ८. ८. १२. ८=८. ८. ८. ४. ८; पुरस्ताद्बृहती १२. ८. ८. ८=८. ४. ८. ८. ८. न्यङ्कुसारिणी ८. १२. ८. ८=८. ८. ४. ८. ८. अस्या न्यङ्कुसारिण्याः स्कन्धोग्रीवी उरोबृहती इति नामान्तरं मतान्तरेण वर्तते । उष्णिग्बृहत्योर् अर्धपादस्य स्थानभेदेन नाम-भेदाः कल्पिता एव ।

७. त्रिष्टुप् ११. ११. ११. ११ ; जगती १२. १२. १२. १२ ।

त्वमग्ने प्रथमः सूक्ते त्रैष्टुभ्यः सन्ति जागते ।
ऋचस्तिस्रस्तथा सूक्तान्यन्यान्येवंविधान्यपि ॥२४॥[८]

यूपव्रस्का उतेत्येवमाद्यास्वृक्षु तु कासुचित् ।
पादौ द्वौ त्रैष्टुभौ दृष्टौ पादावन्यौ च जागतौ ॥२५॥[९]

सूक्तं तु त्रैष्टुभं तत्राप्यृगेषा जागतीति च ।
कात्यायनेन सर्वानुक्रमण्यां स्वयमीरितम् ॥२६॥[१०]

पादानां त्रैष्टुभत्वं च जागतत्वं च कुत्रचित् ।
विज्ञेयं स्यात् प्रकरणादिति माधवभाषितम् ॥२७॥[११]

अनन्तरं मया पङ्क्तिच्छन्दोऽप्यत्र निरूप्यते ।
अस्मिन् भवन्त्यक्षराणि चत्वारिंशत् समष्टितः ॥२८॥

पादैश्चतुर्भिः संयुक्तं विराट्छन्दो दशाक्षरैः ।
प्रायेण त्रैष्टुभे सूक्ते दृश्यते, न स्वतन्त्रतः ॥२९॥[१२]

एकाक्षरन्यूनपादस्त्रैष्टुभो वा भवेदयम् ।
विराट्पादोऽतिविरलो न वा भेदेन गण्यताम् ॥३०॥

अष्टाक्षरैः पञ्चभिः स्यात् पङ्क्तिरन्या ; ततश्च सा ।
गायत्र्यनुष्टुप्संघाते निक्षेप्तव्या, न भेदतः ॥३१॥[१३]

८. त्वमग्ने प्रथमः सू. १. ३१; ८, १६, १८ त्रैष्टुभाः ।

९. यूपव्रस्का उत ये यूपवाहाः १२.
चषालं ये अश्वयूपाय तक्षति १२.
ये चार्वते पचनं संभरन्ति १२.
उतो तेषामभिगूर्तिर्न इन्वतु १२. (१. १६२. ६) ।

१०. मा नो द्व्यधिका (=२२) अश्वस्तुतिस्तु तृतीयाषष्ठ्यौ जगत्यौ, (अनादेशे त्विन्द्रो देवता त्रिष्टुप् छन्दः)

११. वेङ्कटार्यतनयमाधवेन कृता ऋग्वेदानुक्रमणीति नाम्ना मद्रपुरीयविश्वविद्यालये संस्कृतग्रन्थावल्यां प्रकाशिताः कारिकाः । तत्र–
स्यात्त्रिष्टुबेकादशकैश्चतुर्भिः
कस्य नूनं कतमस्यामृतानाम् ।
पादे यदि द्वे भवतस्तु जागते
वदन्ति सूक्तेन तदा व्यवस्थाम् ॥ ६. ४. १ ।

१२. विराट् १०. १०. १०. १० ; सू. ६. २०; ६. ४. ४ ; त्रैष्टुभे. तत्र चतुर्भिर्दशकैर्युता पङ्क्तिः इत्येवमादि ।

१३. ८. ८. ८. ८. ८; समस्ते सूक्ते अन्यच्छन्दोभिः सह वा भवति ।

पादावष्टाक्षरौ द्वौ च पादौ द्वौ द्वादशाक्षरौ ।
दृष्टाः सतोबृहत्यादौ पङ्क्तिभेदेन कल्पिते ॥३२॥[१४]

अनुष्टुभो जगत्याश्च निर्मितान्येव संकरात् ।
छन्दांस्येतानि कल्प्यानि ; छन्दोभेदा इमानि न ॥३३॥

उष्णिहश्च बृहत्यश्च प्रागुक्ता एवमेव हि ।
गायत्र्यनुष्टुभोर्वा स्युर्जगत्या सह संकराः ॥३४॥[१५]

विपरीता तथा पङ्क्ती प्रस्तारास्तारपूर्विके ।
पङ्क्ती संस्तारविष्टारपूर्विके च तथाविधाः ॥३५॥[१६]

त्रिष्टुबन्तर्गतं दृष्टं छन्दो नाम्नाऽभिसारिणी ।
यस्यां दशाक्षरौ द्वौ च सन्ति पादौ च जागतौ ॥३६॥[१७]

ज्योतिष्मती त्रिभिः पादैर्जागतैरष्टकेन च ।
पादेनैकेन संयुक्ता त्रिष्टुब्भेदेन दर्शिता ॥३७॥[१८]

विराट्स्थाना च वैराजत्रिष्टुप् छन्दोद्वय त्विदम् ।
त्रैष्टुभेनैकपादेन सम्पन्नमपि केवलम् ॥३८॥[१९]

चत्वारिंशद्भिरेकोनचत्वारिंशद्भिरक्षरैः ।
संपूर्णं, नवकैः पादैर्दशकैश्च समन्वितम् ॥३९॥

पङ्क्तिपादस्य वैरल्येऽक्षरलोपे च सत्यपि ।
अगत्या त्रिष्टुभो वर्गे छन्दःशास्त्रेषु दर्शितम् ॥४०॥

विराड्रूपा त्रिभिः पादैस्त्रैष्टुभैरष्टकेन च ।
पादेनैकेन संपन्ना मुखतोऽन्तेऽपि वा ऋचः ॥४१॥[२०]

अक्षरैरेकचत्वारिंशद्भिश्च सहिताऽपि सा ।
भूयस्त्वात्त्रैष्टुभानां तु त्रिष्टुब्भेदेन गण्यताम् ॥४२॥

१४. सतोबृहती १२. ८. १२. ८; आदिशब्देन विपरीता ८. १२. ८. १२; प्रस्तारपङ्क्तिः १२. १२. ८. ८; आस्तारपङ्क्तिः ८. ८. १२. १२; संस्तारपङ्क्तिः १२. ८. ८. १२ ; विष्टारपङ्क्तिः ८. १२. १२. ८ ; एता गृह्यन्ते ।

१५. प्राक् १९. २० श्लोकयोर् उक्ताः । ८. ८. १२; ८. ८. १२. ८; इत्येवमेव भवन्ति । द्वादशाक्षरपादस्य ८. ४; इति विभागो नावश्यक इति भावः ।

१६. श्लो. ३२ टिप्पण्यां यथा दर्शिताः तथाविधाः ।

१७. अभिसारिणी १०. १०. १२. १२ ।

१८. ज्योतिष्मती १२. १२. १२. ८ ।

१९. विराट्स्थाना १०. ९. १०. ११=४०; वैराजत्रिष्टुप् १०. ९. ११. ९=३९ ।

२०. विराड्रूपा ११. ११. ११. ८=४१; मुखतः आदौ अन्ते वा अयमष्टाक्षरः पादो भवति ।

ज्योतिश्च यवमध्या च स्युर्महाबृहती तथा ।
अष्टाक्षरैर्जागतैश्च निर्मिता मिश्रितैर्मिथः ॥४३॥[२१]

चत्वारिंशन्मितैर्युक्ता अक्षरैश्चतुरुत्तरैः ।
तथापि तिस्रः प्रस्तारपङ्क्त्यादौ स्थापयेदिमाः ॥४४॥[२२]

अष्टाक्षराणां पादानां जागतानां च संकरे ।
संख्यायामेव भेदोऽस्ति न तु पादस्वरूपतः ॥४५॥[२३]

पङ्क्त्युत्तराष्टकैः पादैर्विराट्पूर्वापराह्वया ।
दशाक्षराभ्यां पादाभ्यां च युता त्रिष्टुबेव न ॥४६॥[२४]

सतोबृहत्या पादश्चेदष्टकोऽन्योऽपि योज्यते ।
महासतोबृहत्याख्यमेतच्छन्दस्तदा भवेत् ॥४७॥[२५]

अतश्च छन्दसो नाम नितरामुचितं ध्रुवम् ।
जगतीभेदता त्वस्य न तथा राजसम्मतम् ॥४८॥[२६]

पादैरष्टाक्षरैः षड्भिर्महापङ्क्त्यभिधायुता ।
गायत्र्यादेः समूहे तु निवेष्टव्या न जागते ॥४९॥[२७]

महापङ्क्तिः पराप्यस्ति सूर्ये विषमा सजामि ।
इयत्तिका शकुन्तिका ऋचावत्र निदर्शनम् ॥५०॥[२८]

२१. ज्योतिः १२. ८. १२. १२=४४ ; अष्टाक्षरपादस्य स्थानभेदेन पुरस्ताज्ज्योतिरित्यादि-नामभेदः ।

२२. प्रस्तारपङ्क्त्यादयः ३५ श्लोक उक्ताः ।

२३. ज्योतिष्येक अष्टाक्षरः पादः । प्रस्तारपङ्क्त्यादौ द्वौ अष्टाक्षरपादौ इति भेदः । अष्टाक्षर-द्वादशाक्षरपादानां संकलनेन निर्मितानीति स्वरूपतो न भेदः ।

२४. पङ्क्त्युत्तरा विराट्पूर्वा वा १०. १०. ८. ८. ८=४४ ; अक्षरसंख्ययैव त्रिष्टुप्त्वम् । न ह्यत्र त्रिष्टुप्पादो विद्यते, इत्यतो नैव त्रिष्टुबियम् ।

२५. सतोबृहती १२. ८. १२. ८; महासतोबृहती १२. ८. १२. ८. ८। ३२तमः श्लोक. दृश्यताम् ।

२६. सतोबृहत्याः पादान्तरेण वृद्धया जातत्वात् महासतोबृहती इति नाम्नः औचित्यम् । कुञ्जन्-राजस्य उपन्यासकर्तुर्न सम्मतं जगतीत्वम् । अष्टाक्षरपादानां भूयस्त्वात् । अष्टाक्षरजागत-पादानां संकलनमेवात्र । न तु शुद्धजगतीत्वम् ।

२७. महापङ्क्तिः ८. ८. ८. ८. ८. ८=४८ ।

२८. सूर्ये विषमा सजामि १. १६१. १० ।
इयत्तिका शकुन्तिका १. १९२. ११ ।

अष्टकौ सप्तकः षट्को दशको नवकस्तथा ।
पादानामेवमनयोर्विभागः शास्त्रसम्मतः ॥५१॥[२९]

अष्टकानां तु पादानां षट्कमेवात्र केवलम् ।
सावधानपरीक्षायां कृतायां लक्ष्यते मया ॥५२॥[२९]

उभयोरुत्तरोऽर्धर्चे एकः; तत्रैव सांप्रतम् ।
कस्याश्चित् परिवृत्तेश्च विभागे दृश्यते पदम् ॥५३॥[२९]

पादे पादे विरम्यार्था लक्ष्यन्ते कथितास्ततः ।
ऋक्पादानां विभागेऽर्थः स्वीकर्तव्यो नियामकः ॥५४॥

सोचिन्नु न मरातीति विरामोऽर्थस्य दृश्यते ।
एवं सप्तादिसंख्यापि पादानां लभ्यतेऽर्थतः ॥५५॥

विरोधश्छन्दसोऽर्थेन विभागे दृश्यते यदि ।
छन्दोनिबद्धवाक्येषु प्राबल्यं छन्दसः परम् ॥५६॥

अग्निः पूर्वेभिर्ऋषिभिरिमं मे वरुण श्रुधी ।
अत्र पादान्तरे पूर्तिरर्थस्येति निदर्शनम् ॥५७॥[३०]

विभक्तुमुत्तरार्धर्चं पादैरष्टाक्षरैः समम् ।
छन्दोऽनुसृत्य, विषमाद्विभागादुचितं ततः ॥५८॥

गायत्रवर्गे दृश्यन्ते छन्दांसि विविधान्यपि ।
चतुर्विंशत्यक्षराणां न्यूनाधिक्येन योगतः ॥५९॥

आभिष्टे अद्य—ऋगियं पदपङ्क्तिरितीर्यते ।
पञ्चाक्षरैश्चतुर्भिश्च पादैः षट्केन चान्विता ॥६०॥[३१]

२९. सो चिन्नु न मराति—७.
नो वयं मराम ६.
अरे अस्य यो जनं हरिष्ठा १०.
मधु त्वा मधुला चकार ६.
इति शास्त्रसम्मतः पादविभागः ।
सोचिन्नु न मराति नः ८.
वयं मरामारे अस्य ८.
यो जनं हरिष्ठा मधु ८.
त्वा मधुला चकार ८ (त्वा=तुवा).
इति मामकीनः पादविभागः ।

३०. अग्निः पूर्वेभिर्ऋषिभिः १. १. २. इत्यत्र 'ईड्यः' इति पादान्तरेऽर्थविरामः । इमं मे वरुण श्रुधी १. २५. १६. इत्यत्र 'हवम्' इति पादान्तरेऽर्थविरामः ।

३१. आभिष्टे अद्य ५. गीर्भिर्गृणन्तः ५. अग्ने दाशेम ५. प्र ते दिवो न ५. स्तनयन्ति शुष्माः ६— ४. १०. ४ ।

आभिष्टे अद्य गीर्भिः—स्यादेकः पादस्तथेतरः ।
पूर्वार्धर्चे; परोऽर्धर्चस्त्रैष्टुभोऽपि भवेन्न किम् ॥६१॥[32]

एकाक्षरेण न्यूनत्वमाद्यपादेऽस्तु; मध्यमे ।
अकारलोपं त्यक्त्वा च योज्याष्टाक्षरता तथा ॥६२॥[33]

पञ्चाक्षरविभागेऽपि सोऽयमादीयते पुनः ।
एङःपदान्तात्सूत्रस्य प्रसक्तस्याप्यनादरात् ॥६३॥[34]

विरामोऽपि च नार्थस्य दृश्यते पञ्चमाक्षरे ।
उत्तरार्धविभागश्च द्विधा नैव समञ्जसः ॥६४॥[35]

ऋगियं ता मे अश्व्यानाम् उष्णिग्गर्भा निगद्यते ।
षट्केन सप्तकेनापि त्रैष्टुभेन च संयुता ॥६५॥[36]

सन्ति पादनिचृन्मुख्यानीतराण्यपि च त्रिभिः ।
छन्दांसि पादैर्बद्धानि षट्सप्ताष्टदशाक्षरैः ॥६६॥[37]

न्यूनाधिक्यं त्वक्षराणामृक्षु प्रायेण लक्ष्यते ।
ऊहादिभिः पूरणीया न्यूनता चात्र भूरिशः ॥६७॥[38]

यकारश्च वकारश्च द्व्यक्षरत्वेन गण्यते ।
एकारोऽपि तथैव स्याद्यदि सन्धिकृता इमे ॥६८॥[38]

आकारोऽप्येवमेव स्यात् पूरणीयः कदाचन ।
एङःपदान्तात्सूत्रेणाकारो नैवापि लुप्यते ॥६९॥[38]

एतेषु शास्त्रकाराणां सर्वेषामस्ति सम्मतिः ।
पादपूर्तेरपेक्षायां सर्वमेतत् प्रवर्तते ॥७०॥[38]

३२. आभिष्टे अद्य गीर्भिः ७. गृणन्तो अग्ने दाशेम ८. प्र ते दिवो न स्तनयन्ति शुष्माः ११. इत्येवं कस्मान्न भवेत् ।

३३. गृणन्तोऽग्ने इत्यत्र एङः पदान्तादति (पा. ६. १. १०९) इति यद्यपि एकादेशत्वमेव प्राप्तं तथाप्यकारलोप एव फलमिति कृत्वेदमुक्तम् ।

३४. अयं लुप्तः अकारः पादपूर्त्यर्थं पुनरादीयते ।

३५. समस्ते पूर्वार्धे एक एवार्थः । न तु मध्ये अर्थविरामोऽस्ति । उत्तरोऽर्धर्च एक एव त्रैष्टुभः पादः । अर्थं वा छन्दो वाऽनुरुध्य विभागस्य सामञ्जस्यं न लक्ष्यते ।

३६. ता मे अश्व्यानां ६. (श्व्या=श्विया); हरीणां नितोशना ७.
उतो नु कृत्व्यानां नृवाहसा ११. (त्व्या=त्विया) ८, २५, २३ ।

३७. पादनिचृत् ७. ७. ७; अतिनिचृत् ७. ६. ७; यवमध्या ७, १०, ७; इत्यादयः आदिशब्देन गृह्यन्ते ।

३८. ईड्यः (१. १. २) इत्यस्य ईडियः इति । स्वस्तये (१, १, ९,) इत्यस्य सुवस्तये इति च पाठः । राजन्तमध्वराणाम् (१, १, ८,) इत्यत्र 'णाम्' इति द्व्यक्षरत्वेन पठनीयम्. एङः-पदान्तादति (पा. ६. १. १०९) इत्ययं लुप्तः अकारः प्रायेण सर्वत्र पुनरप्यादीयते ।

निचृद् भुरिग्विराट् चैव स्वराडित्येवमादिकाः ।
संज्ञाः काश्चन दृश्यन्ते छन्दःशास्त्रेषु कुत्रचित् ॥७१॥
सामान्यरीत्यां क्लृप्तायां अंशानामुपपादने ।
उपायाश्चिन्तनीयाः स्युस्तदोत्सर्गाविरोधतः ॥७२॥
उष्णिग्वर्गे तथानुष्टुब्वर्गे वर्गे च बार्हते ।
छन्दांसि पादैर्विषमैः संयुतानि बहून्यपि ॥७३॥
अष्टकानां त्रैष्टुभानां जागतानामिमेऽपि च ।
पादानामेव भेदाः स्युर्न्यूनाधिक्यानुयोगतः ॥७४॥
विभागमार्गः पादानामन्यः कोऽपि क्वचित् क्वचित् ।
अन्वेष्यस्तव स्वादिष्ठेत्याद्यास्वृक्षु प्रयत्नतः ॥७५॥[39]
पूर्वार्धर्चेऽस्य पादौ द्वावेकोऽप्यर्धर्च उत्तरे ।
शास्त्रदृष्टादयं पन्थाः श्रेयानित्यत्र मे मतिः ॥७६॥
पञ्चाक्षराणां पादानां पञ्चकं षट्क उत्तमः ।
नैतादृशविभागेऽत्र विरामोऽर्थस्य सूचकः ॥७७॥[40]
गायत्र्यनुष्टुभौ तद्वत्त्रिष्टुप् च जगती पुनः ।
भूयिष्ठमृच एतेषु छन्दस्स्वन्तर्भवन्ति हि ॥७८॥
उष्णिग्बृहत्यौ पङ्क्तिश्च दृश्यन्ते विरला इमाः ।
अतिच्छन्दांस्युत्तराणि ताभ्योऽपि विरलानि च ॥७९॥
अतिच्छन्दस्सु भूयिष्ठं पादा अष्टाक्षरा अपि ।
जागताश्च भवन्त्यन्ये दृश्यन्ते षोडशाक्षराः ॥८०॥
साकं जातः क्रतुनेति पूर्वार्धे षोडशाक्षरौ ।
पादौ द्वाविति निर्दिष्टं शास्त्रग्रन्थेषु दृश्यते ॥८१॥[41]
अत्राष्टाक्षरपादस्यैवार्धेन सह योजनम् ।
दृष्टं जागतपादस्य, छन्दसः पर्यवेक्षणे ॥८२॥[42]

३९. तव स्वादिष्ठा ५. अग्ने संदृष्टिः ५. इदा चिदह्नः ५. इदा चिदक्तोः ५. श्रिये रुक्मो न ५. रोचत उपाके ६. इति शास्त्रदृष्टः पन्थाः । तव स्वादिष्ठा अग्ने संदृष्टिः १०. इदा चिदह्न इदा चिदक्तोः १०. श्रिये रुक्मो न रोचत उपाके ११. इति मामकीनो विभागः ।

४०. पञ्चानां पञ्चानामक्षराणामन्ते अर्थविरामो न दृश्यते । अतः अर्थविरामेण सूचितो नायं विभागः शास्त्रेषूपलब्धः ।

४१. साकं जातः क्रतुना साकमोजसा ववक्षिथ १६. साकं वृद्धो वीर्यैः सासहिर्मृधो विचर्षणिः १६. दाता राधः स्तुवते काम्यं वसु १२. (म्यं=मियं) सैनं सश्चद्देवो देवं ८. सत्यमिन्द्रं सत्य इन्दुः ८. (२, २२, ३) ।

४२. ववक्षिथ··· विचर्षणिः (४१ टि.द्र.) इति अष्टाक्षरपादस्याऽर्धद्वयं द्वादशाक्षरपादाभ्यां संयोजितमिव भाति ।

षोडशाक्षरपादानामतिच्छन्दस्सु भूरिशः ।
अष्टाक्षराभ्यां पादाभ्यां विभागोऽपि न युज्यते ॥८३॥[43]

अष्टाक्षराणां पादानां जागतानां च संकरात् ।
अतिच्छन्दांसि सर्वाणि जातानीति मतं मम ॥८४॥[44]

उष्णिग्बृहत्योः संस्थाने पूर्वं दृष्टं यथा तथा ।
अत्राष्टाक्षरपादानामर्धाः सन्ति क्वचित् क्वचित् ॥८५॥[45]

उक्तं सर्वमितः पूर्वमेतस्मिन् पर्यवस्यति ।
वैदिकच्छन्दसां रूपं न युक्तं शास्त्रचोदितम् ॥८६॥[46]

द्विविधं वैदिकं छन्दः; समं च विषमं च तत् ।
सममर्धर्चयोः साम्ये; तद्भिन्नं विषमं भवेत् ॥८७॥[47]

यदा पादा एकरूपाः शुद्धा जातिस्तदोच्यते ।
यदा पादा भिन्नरूपाः संकीर्णा सा तदोच्यते ॥८८॥

छन्दः समं तथा जातिः संकीर्णा च भवेद्यदा ।
संज्ञोपजातिरिति च स्वीकार्या तादृशामृचाम् ॥८९॥

पादा अष्टाक्षराः सन्ति पादाश्चैकादशाक्षराः ।
द्वादशाक्षरपादाश्च मुख्याः पादा इमे त्रयः ॥९०॥

दृष्टा दशाक्षराः पादा ऋक्षु पङ्क्त्यादिषु क्वचित् ।
तेऽपि स्वतन्त्रपादाः स्युर्न्यूना वा त्रैष्टुभा इमे ॥९१॥

अनुष्टुप् च विराट्पङ्क्तिस्त्रिष्टुप् च जगती तथा ।
छन्दांस्येतानि चत्वारि शुद्धानि स्युः समानि च ॥९२॥

गायत्री शुद्धजातिः स्यात्; त्रिपादा विषमा हि सा ।
पङ्क्तिरष्टाक्षरैर्युक्ता पादैः पञ्चभिरीदृशी ॥९३॥

४३. अत्र पूर्वार्धे अष्टाक्षरेषु पादविरामो न शक्य इति स्पष्टमेव । एवमितरत्रापि ।

४४. अतिजगती १२. १२. १२. ८. ८; शक्वरी ८. ८. ८ ८. ८. ८. ८; अतिशक्वरी १६ (१२. ४). १६ (१२. ४). १२. ८. ८; अष्टिः १६ (१२. ४). १६ (१२. ४). १६ (१२. ४). ८. ८; अत्यष्टिः १२. १२. ८. ८. ८ १२. ८. धृतिः १२. १२. ८. ८. ८. १६ (८. ८). ८; अतिधृतिः १२. १२. ८. ८. ८. १२. ८. ८; अत्र अवग्रह इति धृतिच्छन्दसि षोडशाक्षरेण गणितः पादः द्वाभ्यां पादाभ्याम् अष्टाक्षराभ्यां विभाग एव समीचीन इत्यतः भूरिश इति (श्लो. ८३ द्र.) पूर्वमुक्तम् । शक्वरी अष्टाक्षरपादैर्निर्मिता । अष्टाक्षरद्वादशाक्षरपादानां संकरः अतिच्छन्दः सामान्यापेक्षया न तु तद्विशेषापेक्षया ।

४५. श्लो. २६ द्र. ।

४६. चतुरुत्तरैरक्षरैश्छन्दोविभागः शास्त्रचोदितः ।

४७. इमाः संज्ञाः समम् इत्याद्या मदीया एव; न तु शास्त्रदृष्टाः ।

समं सतोबृहत्यादिछन्दः; पादास्तु तद्गताः ।
अष्टाक्षरा जागताश्चेत्युपजातिर्हि सा भवेत् ॥९४॥

छन्दांस्यन्यानि संकीर्णान्यपि स्युर्विषमाणि च ।
तद्भेदानां बहुत्वेऽपि दृश्यन्ते विरला इमे ॥९५॥

पादाः पञ्चाक्षराः शास्त्रे दृष्टाः पादाः षडक्षराः ।
अन्ये सप्ताक्षराः पादाः पादाः केचिन्नवाक्षराः ॥९६॥

त्रयोदशाक्षराः केचित्तथान्ये षोडशाक्षराः ।
चिन्त्यः पादविभागोऽत्राक्षरसंख्या च पादगा ॥९७॥[४८]

यत्र पञ्चाक्षराः पादा दृष्टाः शास्त्रानुरोधतः ।
पदपङ्क्त्यां महापूर्वपदपङ्क्त्यां च, तत्र तु ॥९८॥[४९]

विभागमार्गः पादानामन्यश्छन्दोऽनुरूपतः ।
स्वीकारमर्हतीत्येवं प्रागेव प्रतिपादितम् ॥९९॥[४९]

पादाः षडक्षरास्तद्वत् पादाः सप्ताक्षरा अपि ।
न्यूना अष्टाक्षराः पादाः पूरणीयाः कथंचन ॥१००॥

पादा नवाक्षराश्चापि गण्या एकाक्षराधिकाः ।
क्वचिदष्टाक्षराः पादाः; क्वचिद्वा न्यूनपङ्क्तयः ॥१०१॥

त्रयोदशाक्षरौ पादौ पादश्चाष्टाक्षरोऽपरः ।
यत् पिपीलिकमध्याख्यं छन्दस्तत्र समागताः ॥१०२॥[५०]

यदा जागतयोर्मध्ये पादोऽस्त्यष्टाक्षरस्तदा ।
सा पिपीलिकमध्यानुष्टुप् पर्यूषु निदर्शनम् ॥१०३॥[५१]

हरी यस्य च वज्रं य इत्यृचावप्युदीरिते ।
द्वे पिपीलिकमध्येति सर्वानुक्रमणीकृता ॥१०४॥[५२]

४८. कुत्रचित् पादविभागप्रकारश्चिन्तनीयः। अन्यत्र पादेषु अक्षरसंख्या चिन्तनीया ।

४९. ७५-७७ श्लोकाः वीक्ष्यन्ताम् ।

५०. अभि वो वीरमन्धसो मदेषु गाय १३. गिरा महा विचेतसम् ८. इन्द्रं नाम श्रुत्यं शाकिनं वचो यथा १३ (८, ४६, १४) । इति पिपीलिकमध्या ।

५१. पर्यू षु प्र धन्व वाजसातये १२. (र्यू=रि ऊ) परि वृत्राणि सक्षणिः ८. द्विषस्तरध्या ऋणया न ईयसे १२. (९. ११०. १) ।

५२. हरी यस्य सुयुजा विव्रता वेः ११. अर्वन्तानु शेपा ७. (न्तानु=न्ता अनु) उभा रजी न केशिना पतिर्दन् ११. (१०, १०५, २) । वज्रं यश्चक्रे सुहनाय दस्यवे १२. हिरीमशो हिरीमान् ८ । अरुतहनुरद्भुतं न रजः ११ (१०, १०५, ७) । औष्णिहं हरी वज्रं पिपीलिकमध्ये इति कात्यायनकृतायां सर्वानुक्रमण्याम् ।

सप्ताक्षरस्त्रैष्टुभयोर्मध्ये पादोऽत्र पादयोः ।
सप्ताक्षरो जागतस्य त्रैष्टुभस्य च दृश्यते ॥१०५॥[५३]

न पिपीलिकमध्येति नाम किंचिद्व्यवस्थितम् ।
कस्यापि छन्दसो ज्ञेयं पादरूपानुसारतः ॥१०६॥[५४]

अधिकाक्षरसंयुक्तपादयोरन्तरा द्वयोः ।
अल्पसंख्याक्षरे पादे सति नाम भवेदिदम् ॥१०७॥[५५]

षोडशाक्षरपादस्तु विज्ञेयो द्वादशाक्षरः ।
ततोऽष्टाक्षरपादार्धः पादौ वाष्टाक्षरौ क्वचित् ॥१०८॥[५६]

अष्टाक्षराणां पादानामधाश्छन्दस्सु कुत्रचित् ।
दृश्यन्ते प्रायश इति मया पूर्वमुदीरितम् ॥१०९॥[५७]

सन्ति सूक्तानि शुद्धानि छन्दो यत्रैकमेव हि ।
संवादीनि यदा तानि तदा सूक्तं समं मतम् ॥११०॥[५८]

संकीर्णानीतराणि स्युः प्रायो यत्र परस्परम् ।
विसंवादीनि दृश्यन्ते छन्दांसि विविधान्यपि ॥१११॥[५९]

गायत्र्यनुष्टुभौ त्रिष्टुब्जगत्यावेव भूरिशः ।
कृत्स्नेष्वपि हि सूक्तेषु दृष्टाश्छन्दोऽन्तरं विना ॥११२॥

अष्टाक्षरैः पञ्चपादैर्युक्ता पङ्क्तिश्च दृश्यते ।
कृत्स्नेषु बहुसूक्तेषु; शेषास्त्वत्यन्तमल्पशः ॥११३॥[६०]

एषु प्रकृतिभूतानि छन्दांस्येव चतुर्दश ।
कृत्स्नसूक्तेषु दृश्यन्ते; विकृतानीतराणि न ॥११४॥[६१]

५३. आद्ये त्रैष्टुभयोः पादयोर्मध्ये सप्ताक्षरः पादः; द्वितीये जागतस्य त्रैष्टुभस्य च मध्ये सप्ताक्षरः पादः ।

५४. अनेकविधैः पादैः सहितस्य छन्दस एकसंज्ञाकरणात् ।

५५. पिपीलिकाया मध्यः कृशः पूर्वार्धपश्चार्धौ स्थूलौ । अस्य छन्दसोऽपि इदमेवरूपमिति संज्ञाकरणम् ।

५६. १२+४ इति वा ८+८ इति वा विभागः ।

५७. १६, ८१, ८५ श्लोकेषु द्र. ।

५८. संवादित्वं च रूपतः परस्पराविरोधित्वम् ।

५९. विसंवादित्वम् अत्यन्तविभिन्नरूपत्वम् ।

६०. शेषा उष्णिग् बृहती इत्येवमादयः ।

६१. गायत्र्यादयः प्रकृतिभूताश्चतुर्दश । अतिच्छन्दांस्यन्येषां विकृतिभूतानि न भवन्तीति तेषां प्रकृतित्वम् । विकृतानि पदपङ्क्त्यादीनि छन्दांसि कृत्स्ने सूक्ते न दृश्यन्ते ।

छन्दस्सु विकृतेष्वेव पादानां दृश्यते क्वचित् ।
विभागेऽक्षरसंख्याया वापि किंचिदतृप्तिदम् ॥११५॥[६२]

एतादृशेषु सूक्तेषु साहचर्यं च यत्नतः ।
परीक्षणीयमस्माभिः पादानां रूपनिर्णये ॥११६॥[६३]

गायत्र्यनुष्टुभौ तद्वदनुष्टुब्बृहती पुनः ।
पुरउष्णिक् च गायत्री दृश्यन्ते पङ्क्त्यनुष्टुभौ ॥११७॥[६४]

त्रिष्टुप् चापि विराट्पङ्क्तिस्त्रिष्टुप् च जगती तथा ।
मिलिताः सूक्त एकस्मिन् संवादिन्यः परस्परम् ॥११८॥[६४]

त्रिष्टुबन्तानि सूक्तानि संलक्ष्यन्ते बहून्यपि ।
छन्दोऽन्तरं प्रधानं तु येषु प्रायेण वर्तते ॥११९॥[६५]

बार्हताद्याः प्रगाथाश्च विविधाः सन्ति, यत्र च ।
भिन्नच्छन्दोनिबद्धानामृचां भवति मेलनम् ॥१२०॥[६६]

सन्त्यन्यान्यपि सूक्तानि, संकीर्णानि बहून्यपि ।
छन्दांसि येषु लभ्यन्ते मुख्यानि विकृतानि च ॥१२१॥[६७]

अष्टाक्षरैस्त्रिभिः पादैर्गायत्री छन्द इष्यते ।
अनुष्टुप् च चतुर्भिः स्यात् पङ्क्तिः स्यात् पञ्चभिस्तथा ॥१२२॥

षड्भिर्महापङ्क्तिरपि सप्तभिः शक्वरी तथा ।
दृश्यन्तेऽष्टाक्षराः पादाश्छन्दस्स्वेतेषु पञ्चसु ॥१२३॥

न्यूनाधिक्येऽप्यक्षराणां त्रिषु पादेषु सत्सु तु ।
विकृता एव गायत्र्यः स्युः पादनिचृदादयः ॥१२४॥

६२. पादविभागप्रकारे पादेषु अक्षरसंख्यायां च पदपङ्क्त्यादिष्वेव अतृप्तिबीजं लक्ष्यते न तु गायत्र्यादिषु । अतिच्छन्दस्सु षोडशाक्षरपादाः सन्तीति नातृप्तिबीजम् ।

६३. एकस्याम् ऋचि पादान्तराणां साहचर्यम्, एकस्मिन् सूक्ते ऋगन्तराणां च साहचर्यम् अवेक्षणीयम् ।

६४. सू. १. २३ गायत्री अनुष्टुप् च ; सू. १. १७० अनुष्टुप् बृहती च; सू. १. २३ पुरउष्णिग् गायत्री च; सू. ५. ६ पङ्क्तिः अनुष्टुप् च; सू. १. १६६ त्रिष्टुप् विराट्पङ्क्तिश्च ; सू. १. ३१. त्रिष्टुप् जगती च । एषु कुत्रचित् सूक्तेषु इतरच्छन्दांस्यपि भवन्ति । निदर्शनाय केवलमिमानि निर्दिष्टानि । न तु समुद्देशाय ।

६५. १. २७ गायत्रे सूक्ते अन्त्या ऋग् त्रिष्टुप् ।

६६. बार्हतः = बृहती सतोबृहती । काकुभ = ककुप् सतोबृहती । महाबार्हतः = महाबृहती महासतोबृहती । अन्ये च प्रगाथाः सन्ति ।

६७. मुख्यानि गायत्र्यादीनि ।

विराट् त्रिषु च जगती चतुर्भिर्दशकैर्मता ।
चतुर्भिरेकादशकैस्तथा द्वादशकैः क्रमात् ॥१२५॥
अष्टाक्षरैस्त्रिभिः पादैश्चतुर्भिश्चार्धसंयुतैः ।
उष्णिक् च बृहती चापि भवतो निर्मिते क्रमात् ॥१२६॥
अष्टाक्षरैर्द्वादशकैर्मिलितैश्च परस्परम् ।
नानाविधानि छन्दांसि निर्मितानि भवन्ति हि ॥१२७॥[६८]
पादसंख्यागतो भेदो दृश्यते तेषु केवलम् ।
एतेषामपि कर्तव्यो विभागः पादसंख्यया ॥१२८॥
नवाक्षराणां पादानां स्वरूपस्य विनिश्चयः ।
त्रयोदशाक्षराणां च कर्तव्यः साहचर्यतः ॥१२९॥
छन्दसां तु समासेन दिगेवात्र प्रदर्शिता ।
नाद्रिये गौरवभयाद् व्यासेन प्रतिपादनम् ॥१३०॥[६९]
वैशद्यायैव मद्बुद्धेरेतावत् कथितं मया ।
प्रीत्यर्थं विश्वबन्धोश्च श्रीस्वरूपगुरोरपि[७०] ॥१३१॥

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६८. पङ्क्त्यादिषु वर्गेषु ।

६९. दिगेव—एतया दिशा अन्वेष्यम् इत्येवमेव । व्यासेन—एकैकस्य विशेषांशस्य ।

७०. देहत्यागात् श्रीरेव यस्य स्वरूपं तस्य श्रीमतः स्वरूपाह्वयस्य अनेकेषां छात्राणां गुरोरिति ।

Nírukta and *Ánirukta* in Vedic

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I

§ 1. These terms appear at the stage of the *Brāhmaṇas*. They belong to the 'explicative' phase of Vedism, and are wanting in the language of the *mantras*.

The elementary meaning of *nírukta* is 'enunciated', i.e. firstly 'said aloud, in an intelligible way'. It is applied to the formulas (mantras) recited in the course of the rites, and which, according to cases, were mentally spoken, whispered inaudibly, murmured in a low voice or uttered aloud in the form of a psalmody or eventually of a song. *Nírukta* thus goes side by side with *uccaíḥ* 'in a loud voice', *KB*. VIII. 3, XI. 1 speaking of a *stava* 'praise'. But it is not a mere repetition or gloss of *uccaíḥ*: it holds a pregnant meaning, shadows forth a speculative value; we can say that in its simplest acception, *nírukta* (as, and still more, *ánirukta*), encloses implicitly all the representations that we are going to see in their development.

Let us note that in the first of the two texts quoted, *KB*. VIII. 3, the word *nírukta* for a while stops the attention of the *brāhmaṇakṛt*: the *stava* is *nírukta*, he says, because it is *vāgdevatya* 'it has speech as a deity'. At once the term enters the intricacies and virtualities of the Vedic word.

It stands opposed to *upāṃśú*[1] which means 'in silence' or more

1. This word is of curious formations. We are tempted to see in it a word composed of *úpa* and *aṃśu* 'stem' (of *soma*, prepared for pressing). The *RV*. IV. 58. 1 has the expression *úpāṃśúnā* 'with the stem of the *soma*', i.e. *úpa aṃśúnā* (*úpa* being loosely attached to the following verb). But how do we go from the former meaning to the latter 'in silence'? We must cite here the compound *upāṃśusavana* of the ritual, which meant 'the small pressing' consisting of a simplified outline compared to the 'great pressing' which was accompanied by more recitations and practices, cf. specially Eggeling *ad* *ŚB*. III. 9. 4. 19 or Caland-Henry p. 149 and passim. This compound, actually meaning 'under-pressing of the stems', *upa-aṃśusavana* became 'silent pressing' and from it a new adverb arose *upāṃśú* 'in silence'.

Another compound came in the same way: *upāṃśugraha*, properly 'drawing out (from the *soma*) for the small pressing' (=**upāṃśusavanagraha*). The term is in opposition to **aṃśugraha* 'drawing out from the stems (pressed by the ordinary pressing)', a compound which is immediately deduced from the text like *ŚB*. IV. 1. 1. 2, *aṃśúr vaí nā́ma grā́haḥ*. *Upāṃśugraha* itself usually appears in the form *upāṃśú* (masc. subst.), cf. *BR*. s. u.: that abbreviation goes back to the *yajus* and perhaps even to the *RV*. Indeed, the

exactly 'in a low voice' (=making the articulatory effort, but without any audible phone, cf. Rudradatta on ĀpŚS. III. 8. 8; XXIV. 1. 9). Inversely *ánirukta* can be equivalent to 'in a low voice' ŚB. IX. 3. 1. 2. The opposition *upāṃśú*/*níruktam* is found that way *KB*. I. 5 ; III. 6 ; XXV. 10. But most often *nírukta* (*ánirukta*) developes a perspective far beyond that literal use : thus the offering *upāṃśú* and the offering *níruktam* are placed *KB*. I. 5 in connection with the two forms, *ánirukta* and *nírukta*, of Agni (cf. §10). Or again the representations of *mánas* and of *vā́c* command the proceedings of *upāṃśú* and of *níruktam* : 'what is performed (with formulas, spoken) in a low vice, by that the mind conveys the sacrifice to the gods ; and what is performed (with formulas) distinctly uttered by speech, by that the speech conveys the the sacrifice to the gods' ŚB. I. 4. 4. 2.

§ 2. *Nírukta* is also opposed to *tū́ṣṇīm* 'in silence',[2] i.e. without being accompanied by formulas, and as no precision is afforded by the ritual it is sometimes difficult to demarcate this acception from the former. *Ániruktaṃ hy ètád yát tū́ṣṇīm*, says ŚB. I. 4. 4. 5 and elsewhere. Then *nírukta* is the act performed with a *yajus* ŚB. XIV. 1. 2. 18, or, according to the same text VI. 5. 3. 7, *yā́ yájuṣkṛtāyai karóti* '(the bricks) he makes of a (clay) prepared (itself) with (accompaniment of) formulas' opposed to *yā́ áyajuṣkṛtāyai*. The *nírukta* is speech, is the *mántra* ŚB. I. 4. 4. 6 ; it is the speech of men, the human fourth part of speech, distributed according to ŚB. IV. 1. 3. 16 (implicitly commenting on *RV*. I. 164. 45) through the whole animal kingdom.

§ 3. When we come to theoretical recitation, the one which the teaching of the Prātiśākhyas : aims at, the *nirvacana* indicates a word distinctly uttered,

exhortation the author of X. 83. 7 makes to himself and to Manyu 'let us drink the first, both of us, *upāṃśú*' gets a much more satisfactory meaning if we understand *upāṃśú* as 'in the manner of the *upāṃśusavana*' or (what comes to the same thing) 'in the manner of the *upāṃśugraha*' · how could the *ṛṣi*, whose essence is to praise in a loud voice, claim the right to 'drink in silence'? The link connecting *ánirukta* with such a notion or another, as we shall see, stands out between those notions and *upāṃśusavana* or °*graha* : the notion of 'totality' ŚB. IV. 1. 1. 5, of 'breath' *KB*. XII. 4 ; *AB*. II. 21. 3 sq. ŚB. IV 1. 1. 1; 2. 27; of *antárikṣa* ŚB. IV. 1. 2. 27. On the other hand, the *upāṃśúḥ* is assimilated (mediately) to Vācaspati ŚB. IV. 1. 1. 9, so we may presume that the term could not be reduced to 'silence'.

2. The derivation by √*tuṣ* 'to be satisfied' (with lengthening of the groups *iṣ uṣ* frequent in Vedic) is known to *BR*. and tacitly admitted by Indian etymologists and by the moderns. *BR*. bring pertinently forward *jóṣam* which (under the influence of *tuṣṇīm* ? Its use is limited to the combination with √*ās*) also gets the meaning of "to keep silent" from the time of *MhBh*. (according to *BR*.; in fact much higher up, cf. *Vādhūlasū*. *Acta Or*. II p. 160, where *joṣaṃkṛta* is glossed *tūṣṇīṃkṛta* by the Prayoga; *ibid* also VI p. 129 *joṣaṃkṛta* and °*kṛtvā*). The shifting in meaning may have been helped by a speculation like *yád vā́ ániruktaṃ tán máyaṃdam* ŚB. VIII. 2. 3. 11 'the *ánirukta* (i. e. the *tūṣṇīm*) is a giver of pleasure'.

the one emphasized by the use of *íti* (*parigraha*): so in the recitation of the *krama* *RPr.* XI. 16 (628) when *nirāha* is glossed *parigraheṇa yojayati*; 27 (639); 60 (672). Or again, in the *VPr.* IV. 18 and 192, the word *ánirukta* (glossed *anirjñāta* by Uvaṭa) describes *r* final as 'indistinct' in the *Saṃhitā* i.e. modified to *ḥ*, but identifiable by the *Padapāṭha*.

§4. In the technic of the Chandogas, *nírukta* refers to the 'distinct' uttering of the syllables in the chant (*stotra*), *ánirukta* aiming at their being replaced by an *o*. The *aniruktagāna* (cf. Caland-Henry p. 178 and 180) is a singing on the syllable *o* in the same metre and on the same note as the corresponding syllable of the *ārcika*. Cf. *PB.* VII. 9. 18; 1. 8; XII. 9. 12; *JB.* n° 34 and 37 *JSS.* 3 and 16 and probably *JUB.* I. 52. 4 and 5. The two methods of chanting are admitted *ṢB.* II. 1. 24; 2. 24 (where the commentary gives simply *spaṣṭaḥ/aspaṣṭaḥ*); *LSS.* VII. 12. 14 (refering to the *Br.*). The combination is called *uccāvacam* *ṢB.* II. 2. 12. Grosso modo, *ániruktam* comes to the same as under §2, 'mentally', and the term is glossed by *manasā* (Dhanvin *ad DSS.* II. 4. 12).[3]

§5. Until now *nírukta/ánirukta* are concerned with elocution, at least in its primary meaning. Much more often and in a much deeper manner these terms are also concerned with the very content of the formulas. To utter distinctly is to make explicit and, to a certain extent, to explain An isolated passage of *SB.* II. 5. 2. 20 says that 'when confessed the sin becomes less', *níruktaṃ vā́ énaḥ kánīyo bhavati*. And in the sense of 'to explain, to interpret' are directed the uses of *nír* $\sqrt{}$*vac* in the didactic literature beginning from the *RPr.* XV. 11 (838): *nirvācye* 'when there is (a term) to explain'; in the *Nirukta* we have the frequent formula *tasyottarā bhūyase nirvacanāya* (I. 19 etc.) 'see the following stanza for further explanation' (taken up again in Sāyaṇa *RVBhāṣya* I[2] p. 16); in the *Bṛhaddev.* IV. 74 and (?) VI. 134, where however the meaning agreeing with §6 'containing an explicit divine name' is also possible; in the later texts.[4] In the *Nirukta* the accredited meaning is 'explanation

3. The *ánirukta* chant is sometimes alluded to outside the *SV.*: thus on one hand *SSS.* XIII. 16. 5, on the other *ĀpSS.* XXII. 7. 2 sq. and *Hir.* corresponding. — An *Upaniṣad*, *ChU*, 1. 13, 3, a sāmavedic text, speaks of an *anirukta stobha*, characterized by an uniform sound '*huṃ*' (such must be the meaning of *saṃcara* here, in agreement with *ĀpSS.* VIII. 2, 3); in another passage. II. 22. 1, the *anirukta* (*gāna*) of Prajāpati, the *nirukta* of Soma, is mentioned.

4. Where *nirukta* and (more often) *nirukti* mean 'explanation or analysis' of a word with an etymological basis; so is *nirvacana* (since *Nir.* and *TĀ.* I. 6. 3 where the expression *sánirvacanāḥ* names the *ākhyāyikās* as 'accompanied by the explanatory *brāhmaṇa*'. The negative term *ánirukta* is purely Vedic; the last example, *ĀśvGS.* I. 22. 27 means '(act) not specified (by a prescriptive rule)'. — It is this very meaning of 'explanation (based on an analysis of the grammatical elements)' that *nirutti* has in Pāli: the phrase *bujjhatīti buddho* is not a *nirutti* so much in the sense of a definition of the

(par excellence)', i.e. 'etymology' : *yathārthaṃ nirvaktavyāni* II. 7 '(the nouns) are to be explained etymologically according to their meaning'. And the word Nirukta itself, which designates the type of work devoted to etymology, the only one which has come down to us being the celebrated work of Yāska, is clearly emphasized by the initial heading *atha nirvacanam* II. 1 'and now the etymology (of the nouns enregistered in the *Nighaṇṭus*)'. The *nirukti* is the analysis (etymological), the *nairuktāḥ* are those of the ancient exegetists who recommended that method of interpretation of the Veda (Sieg : *Sagenstoffe* p. 10). That is the exact meaning retained for the word *nirukta* by the *Nāṭyaśāstra* VI. 3; 5; 14 (definition 13-14).[5]

§6. But the ritual literature, that of the *Brāhmaṇas*, leads us in quite a different direction. A *nírukta* formula is that one the meaning or the use of which result 'distinctly' from its content alone, which is 'explicit' by itself, from the fact that it contains a characteristic element, a liṅga.[6] So the formula *āvír maryāḥ* (*VS.* X. 9), the first of the *āvíd* group, is told *ánirukta* *ŚB.* V. 3. 5. 31 : and this, firstly, because it does not contain a 'distinct' meaning which would allow it to be affected to a 'determined' mythic or ritual zone. Likewise, *hā́rdvānam áhardivā́bhir ūtíbhiḥ* (*VS.* XXXVIII. 12) quoted *ŚB.* XIV. 2. 2. 21 (cf. the note from Eggeling *ad loc.*) or again I. 2. 1. 22; 4. 1. 26. By a mere transference of use, it is the rite itself which is told *ánirukta* if the attending formulas are without *liṅga* : that is the case of the *prātaḥsavana* in the Vājapeya *PB.* XVIII. 6, 8 (also *MS.* I. 11. 9; *KS.* XIV. 10): it is *aniruktasāman*, in opposition with the *mādhyandinaṃsavana* which contains the word *vā́ja*, and with the *tṛtīyasavana* which contains the word *citrá*.

§7. But the *liṅga* par excellence, and therefore the essential *nírukta*, is the name of the deity who is addressed to, the *ādeśapada* of *ĀŚS.* V. 4. 4. A *sadeva* formula (*KB.* XXII. 1-3) explicitly contains the above-mentioned name, to wit in the initial portion of the *mantra*: *ādipradiṣṭā mantrā bhavanti*, teaches the *Paribhāṣāsūtra HŚS.* I. 1. 29 and cf. *ĀŚS.* V. 1. 7, also Keith

word '*buddha*' (Points of Controversy p. 378), but as a grammatical analysis (*viggaha*). In Buddhistic Sanskrit. *nirukti* is the 'terminological explanation' (*Laṅkāv.*, Glossary of Suzuki s. u.), the 'interpretation of the Law' (*Saddharmapu.* Index s. u. and note by Burnouf p. 840 sq.). All this call in question the usual interpretation by 'mode of expression, language' of the oft-quoted passage *sakoya niruttiyā buddhavacanaṃ dūsenti Vin.* II p. 139. Cf. also the important use of *anirvacanīya* in the Rāmānuja's philosophy.

5. Where Abhinavagupta distinguishes four modes of *nirukta*: by the noun, by the verb, by both of them at a time, lastly by convention, taken from the 'wordly' (*laukika*) usage, from Vedic usage or from the technical language (*pratiśāstrapārṣada*).

6. About this word, see *J. As.* 1941-42 p. 153 n. 2. The use is proper to the stage Nirukta-Bṛhaddev. — Sarvānukram. — Śrautasū. Thus, according to *ĀpŚS.* I. 5. 5, a group of verses is used for limited operations because of the *liṅga* that each of them contains.

and *TS.* VII. 4. 2. 3 and *AĀ.* I. 2. 2. The expression *yat prathame pade devatā nirucyate AB.* V. 16. 3 is more than 'the fact that the deity is mentioned in the first *pāda*' : it is the utterance in proper terms, 'ès-qualité', of the divine name. The utterance is not only one of the symbols (rūpa) of the rite : it involves the appropriation of the so-designated offering by the divinity named, it marks the intention and the limits of the ritual act. Examples of use *ŚB.* I. 2. 1. 22 ; VIII. 7. 3. 12 ; *PB.* XIV. 2. 6. Such a rite, as the *upahavya*, contains a cryptic mention (*paro'kṣam*, glossing *aniruktam PB.* XVIII. 1. 3) of the name of the deity when the above-said name is at its place, and a clear mention (*pratyakṣam*) when the name is not at its place, so that one shall avoid the word 'god' (and the name of such a god), that one shall say *hotā yajñe* instead of *hotā devaḥ*, and again *mahī yajñasya* instead of *mahī mitrasya* or *induḥ* instead of *somaḥ* (*LŚS.* VIII, 9. 1 sqq. ; analogous to *Baudh.* XVIII. 28 who uses *aniruktam* like *PB.*). With this meaning the ritual interjection *svā́hā* is told *ánirukta ŚB.* II. 2. 1. 3.

§ 8. We here reach that semantic aspect which lent itself to decisive speculations. As the Vedic verses are divided into *nírukta* and *ánirukta* according to whether or not they bear the denomination of the god addressed to, it was tempting to describe as *ánirukta* a certain deity whose presence at the rites was ardently wished for, and whose complete absence could be so much the more regretted in the most sacred formulas, those of the *Ṛksaṃhitā* : to wit, Prajāpati.[7]

7. The ancient part of the *RV.* (IV. 53. 3) has indeed the expression *bhúvanasya prajā́patiḥ*, but merely as an epithet of Savitṛ (to such a point that Bergaigne III p. 252 asserted that the name of Prajāpati first belonged to Savitṛ) : it is a **bhúvanasya pátiḥ* or at best **bhúvanasya bhúvanapátiḥ* modified by the *bhúvanasya prajā́bhyaḥ* of verse 4. Likewise the *prajā́patiḥ* of IX. 5. 9 must be an epithet of Pavamāna. In book X, the expression *ā́ naḥ prajā́ṃ janayatu prajā́patiḥ* 85. 43 is a kind of instantaneous creation (Augenblicksbildung) on *prajā́*, and the word has hardly more vitality 169. 4 and 184. 1 (cf. Oldenberg : *Weltanschaung* p. 28). Again in the *AS.* X. 1. 21 (where however the personage has acquired his full breadth) Indra-Agni are spoken of as the two *prajā́patī* (if such is really, as is almost certain, the lesson). No opportunities would, however, have lacked to mention Prajāpati, were it no more than about the incest of the Father.

Only in the final stanza of *RV.* X. 121 Prajāpati suddenly arises in full function of an universal god. But the stanza is a secondary addition (Oldenberg : *Proleg.* p. 511) : it was constructed to give an answer to the interrogative refrain of verses 1-9 *kásmai devā́ya havíṣā vidhema* understood as 'how is the god called whom we have to serve by the oblation ?', while the meaning was originally rather 'which of the gods is he (answering to the description given) . . . ?' (Otto : *Gottheit der Arier* p. 120). As observed first by Max Müller (*Ancient Skt. Liter.* 1860 p. 433; repeated Hymns² p. 12), this refrain is at the origin of the denomination of Prajāpati by Ka, denomination which in itself holds the wished for *āniruktya*, being ambiguous even on the morphological plane, between the pronoun and the substantive (cf. the mantra *kásmai tvā kā́ya tvā TS.* III. 2. 3. 2 and parallel, and Wackernagel-Debrunner III p. 567). Established as early as the *Saṃhitās* of the *YV.*, that

But if Prajāpati is the supreme *ánirukta* or, to express it better, if the formulas **anādiṣṭadevatāḥ* are affected by privilege to Prajāpati (Ka cf. *TS.* II. 5. 7. 3, *AB.* VI. 20. 18, *KB.* XXIII. 6 etc. *Bṛhaddev.* VII. 16)—or, which comes to the same, to the *yajamāna* *SB.* I. 6. 1. 20—[1], it is of course because there was already in the personality of the god all the features that define an *āniruktya* : he is successively identified with most of the great Vedic entities, and first of all, with a whole group of gods who surpass all definition, Agni *SB.* XI. 3. 3. 18, Soma V. 1. 5. 26, Indra *TB.* I. 2. 2. 5, Savitṛ *PB.* XVI. 5. 17, Vāyu *JUB.* I. 34. 3, 'the great god', *SB.* VI. 1. 3. 16 ; next with the very general notions like sacrifice *KB.* X. 1, year *PB.* XVI. 4. 12, breath *SB.* VI. 3. 1. 9, food V. 1. 3. 7, the neuter *bráhman* XIII. 6. 2. 8, the masculine *brahmán* *TB.* III. 3. 8. 9, *mánas* *KB.* X. 1, *nāma* and *rūpá* *TB.* II. 2. 7. 1 ; with indiscernible numerical types, *saptadas'a* *PB.* II. 10. 5, *ekaviṃs'a* *AB.* I. 30. 29. He is one too many, the 34th god *SB.* V. 1. 2. 13 ; hybrid VI. 2. 2 11, 8. 1. 4 ; not limited *KB.* XXVI. 3. The idea which appears most often is that he sums up or gathers all things into himself, he is *sárvaṃ bráhma* *SB.* VII. 3. 1. 42, *sárve pas'ávaḥ* X. 2. 1. 1, *yát kíṃ ca prāṇí* XI. 1. 6. 17, *pūrṇáḥ* *TB.* II. 2. 1. 2 ; by invoking him in the proper manner, and precisely 'in silence' he restores that form of his which is undefined, unlimited', 'he restores the whole and complete Prajāpati', *sárvaṃ kṛtsnáṃ prajāpatiṃ sáṃskaroti* *SB.* VII. 2. 4. 30, XIV. 1. 2. 18. He is himself *sárvam* *KB.* VI. 15 and passim i.e., at once 'the all (as a whole in opposition to *vís'va*, the all as a number of individuals)' and the 'safe and sound, saluos' : for the restoration of Prajāpati, his healing, so often alluded to, also define a *sarvatva* in the ancient meaning of the word.

[1]In the ritual, the practices directed to Prajāpati (Ka) are silent. *mánasā prajāpataye juhvati* *TS.* II. 5. 11. 5, (cf. also *SB.* I. 3. 5. 10, *KB.* XXV. 10 ; *ĀSS.* II. 3. 19, *prajāpatiṃ manasā dhyāyāt tūṣṇīṃhomeṣu sarvatra*) ; or at least done in a low voice (*upāṃs'ú* § 1) *sá yád upāṃs'ú tát prājāpatyáṃ rūpám* *SB.* I. 6. 3. 27 'what is (uttered) in a low voice, that is the symbol of Prajāpati'. As an example of this rite, we can see *ĀpSS.* III. 6. 7 and 7. 1 (in the course of the Varuṇapraghāsas) interpreted with the aid of VI. 29, 22 ; or again the formula of the *prātaḥsavana* spoken XII. 8. 9, while the indrawn breath is held in the lungs (*prāṇyāpānya vyanan :* it is a *kumbhaka* anticipated !). The very name of the god is uttered 'indistinctly' *HSS.* II. 2. 6. 4 *upāṃs'u devatādes'anam*.

§ 9. These characteristics of Prajāpati are the very ones which define the term *ánirukta* in the last aspect that remains for us to study, that which

use has been justified afterwards in different ways by the *Br.*, thus *AB.* III. 21. 1, *TB.* II. 2. 10, 1 S. Lévi : *Doctrine du sacr.* p. 17, Sūryakānta ed. of the *Kāṭhakasaṃkal.* p. 47 n., etc. — In *MhBh.* XII. 318 (320) 29 and 41 one of the questions stated by Vis'vāvasu to Yājñavalkya concerns Ka.

by contrast with the former meanings takes root on a *laukika* use, and which as such finds its privileged domain in the *Śatapatha* where are incorporated so many vulgarizing notions, where there is so obvious an effort to explain the ritual as an expression of profane values, of the real.

Therefore *nírukta* is everything that has a definite outline, a definite shape, bounded, organised · the human body XII. 9. 3. 16 and especially the head IX. 3. 1. 9, the 'breaths of the head' VII. 2. 2. 19 ; the sperm 'born' (that is to say culminating in a birth) in opposition to the sperm ejected (without effect) which is *ánirukta* IX. 3. 1. 2, *KB*. XVI. 5, *AB*. VI. 27. 8 misunderstood Keith) ; an animal well 'defined' as the lion VIII. 2. 4. 5, *JUB*. I. 52, 4; the fire or the lightning which forms the inner part of *tápas JUB*. III. 32, 5 ; 8 ; the moon *KB*. XVI. 5 (cf. above § 4 fn Soma *nirukta* in another sense); the word, the formula (above § 2); the 'exterior forms' in opposition to the 'interior forms' VII. 2. 4. 30; the *kṣatrá* in opposition to the *víś* IX. 3. 1. 15 ; 4. 3. 10. Some entities seek an *ātmā́*, a "substance" to become *níruktatara* and *mūrtátara* X. 5. 3. 3 (the opposition *mūrtá ámūrta BĀU*. II. 3, 1 prolongs that of *nírukta ánirukta* of the Br.).

Much more numerous are the things *ánirukta* : the neutral *bráhman* V. 4. 4. 13, and the masculine *brahmán PB*. XVIII. 1. 23, the *prāṇá* III. 8. 2. 6, IV. 2. 3. 1, (i.e., the *ātmā́*) IX. 3. 1. 9, *KB*. XVI. 4, the *mánas* I. 4. 4. 5, the world (*loka*) XII. 9. 3. 16, and more particularly the world yonder *KS*. XXVIII. 10, *MS*. III. 8. 10, *JUB*. I. 52. 5 or that ill-defined space which is the *antárikṣa* I. 4. 1. 26, IV. 6. 7. 17 ; the year *KS*. XXXV. 20, *MS*. I. 10. 5 ; summer *JUB*. I. 35. 3 ; Vāyu (as 'wind') VIII. 7. 3. 12 ; Agni as *avyāvṛtta KS*. XX. 5 ; the number twenty *Sarvānukr*. XII. 4 ; certain parts of the body the structure or function of which is uncertain, the arm XI. 5. 2. 2 (and perhaps also the evasive word *dós* which designates it), the spine (*ánūka*) 3, the thigh 5, the navel III. 8, 2 6. Lastly the *sárvam* I. 3. 5. 10 and passim (cf. § 8).[8]

§ 10. In the same way as Prajāpati has also a *nírukta* aspect VII. 2. 4. 30, XIV. 1. 2. 18, so a number of notions are *nírukta* or *ánirukta* : the *yájus* IV. 6. 7. 17. (in the sense of § 1), the *gāna* or the *ṛc* subject to the *gāna* (in the sense of § 4) *ṢB*. II. 1. 24 and other passages quoted *ad loc*., the rites VII. 2. 4. 29 (in the sense of § 2). Agni has also two aspects *KB*. I. 5, but this answers particularly to the division *upāṃśú/uccaíḥ* of the formulas to Agni (§ 1), while recalling the *ábhva* of Agni in the *RV*. The most instructive case is that of the metres : the metrical forms known as such, the *paṅkti*, the

8. Let us forget the horse (*PB*. XVIII. 1, 21 and cf. XXI. 4. 2), the *yajamāna* I. 6, 1, 20, the Agnicayana VI. 2. 2. 20, the Vājapeya *PB*. XVIII. 6.9, *MS*. I 11.9, *KS*. XIV. 10, where the *aniruktatva* is precisely taught in connection with Prajāpati.

uṣṇih, etc. are *nírukta*, the symbolic forms, earth, air, sky (that is to say the measures devoted to these Essences) are *ánirukta* VIII. 3. 3. 7, or again the metre *átichandas*, the very name implying a transcendency, VIII. 2. 4. 5. Later, in the Upaniṣad annexed to the *TĀ*. VIII. 6, the *bráhman* is said to be *nírukta* and *ánirukta* at a time.

§11. What is the consequence of this apportionment? In several passages the *Brāhmaṇa* states only the existence of a double aspect *nírukta/ánirukta*, so when experience shows off. The free sequence of the two methods of procedure then takes place *ajāmitāyai KB*. III. 6 'in order to prevent sameness'. But more often a preference is given, and that preference goes regularly towards the *ánirukta*. That which is *ánirukta* is *máyaṃda* (§2); 'he who knows the *ánirukta* manifestation (thus it must be read, as is indicated by Eggeling's translation) of the (*yajus*) becomes manifest in renown and glory' *SB*. X. 3. 5. 16. The *ánirukta* expression generates a force: 'by performing the *yajus* in a low voice, (the priest) swells them with sap and they, being swollen, swell him in their turn; by performing them in a loud voice, he withers them and they, being withered, wither him in their turn' IV. 6. 7. 18; by using the *ánirukta*, 'he lays into the (patron of the sacrifice) a complete and boundless vigour' V. 4. 4. 13. The *nírukta* mode limits the effect of the sacrifice to a particular force, itself limited, of the god so designated: 'one wish only he gets by any finale called *níruktam*, whilst the *nidhanakāma* (*-sāman*) in question, (which is *ánirukta*) enables the fulfilment of all the wishes' *PB*. XII. 9. 12; 'he does not fall a victim to a particular deity' *KB*. XI. 4; 'he firmly establishes all (the participants and not only the *gṛhapati*) in prosperity, in welfare' *PB*. XVII. 1. 8; or, as briefly says *TS*. VI. 2. 7. 3, '(by the *ánirukta* statement) he conquers the *ánirukta*'.

More precise dangers are attached to the 'distinct' expression: the rite may be destroyed by the Asuras *PB*. XVIII. 1. 3; 'he delivers to Rudra even his cattle, and takes the risk that Rudra slays the cattle during the year' *PB*. VII. 9. 18; 'the *yajus* so (described) is (uttered) in a low voice, it is *ánirukta* [on the *aniruktatva* of the *yajus*, cf. *AĀ*. II. 3. 6]: for the *yajus* is the breath, and the breath is settled *upāṃśú*. Now, if any one were to say of that (adhvaryu) who pronounces (the *yajus*) *níruktam*: he has uttered *níruktam* the *ánirukta* deity: his breath shall fail him;—then that would indeed come to pass' *SB*. X. 3. 5. 15; 'that of the *gāyatra* which is (sung) *níruktam* is terrible; he avoids this terrible (aspect) by singing *ániruktam*' *PB*. VII. 1. 8; 'he who would say *niruktam*, if one should say of him: he will become afflicted with a skin disease, with leprosy,—that would indeed come to pass' *KB*. XXV. 10.

The only contrary example is supplied by *KB*. XI. 1, passage which evidently relating to a definite case, teaches that the *nírukta* is 'the

one part of speech which is not infested by evil', whilst, more subtly, the author of *ŚB*. II. 1, 25 explains that 'by (singing) *niruktam* he enjoys speech, he fulfils the indistinct part of speech'. Lastly, there is a case in which the combination of the two methods alone ensures success: 'is he laid down the only (metres) which are *nírukta*, then the food would have an end, it would fail; and (were he to lay down) such as are all undefined, then the food would be invisible, and one would not see it at all' *ŚB*. VIII. 3. 3. 7.

§12. So nearly all the shades of meaning we brought out in our study converged to these uses. The terms in question are felt to be unitary, and if one acception is predominant in a passage, another is yet present as an implication or a reminder. It is a fundamental feature of Vedic phraseology: the particle *iva* emphasizes this undetermination, evokes latent values; it does not mean 'as one should say, in some way', but 'par excellence, überhaupt'; it is the contrary of the restrictive *evá*.

The deep intention of the *aniruktatva* lies in the effort to specify beyond well-known things, beyond definite forms, a hidden zone where the things and forms take on an inorganic aspect, an *anṛta* in the old sense of the term, which makes them redoubtable. *Ánirukta* sums up in the manner of the Brāhmaṇas the ancient conceptions of the hidden *pada*, the mysterious 'double' so many notions possess in the Hymns. Born in the vocabulary of the Brāhmaṇas, this term has actually quite a tacit ascendency, owing to which it has been given that intensity we see it is provided with.

L. Renou

II Reflections.

The term *ánirukta* is not more negative than most terms in *a(n)*°. It does not in any way point to simple silence, the suspension of speech, the absence or suppression of an articulation. As far as efficiency is concerned, it is not an ingenious proceeding to obtain favours the expansion of which would escape any delimitation by language. That is only the superficial aspect. The very term points to something which may be found only beyond *nírukta*, beyond those narrow boundaries which are those of intelligible speech, of the exact representation circumscribed by the word.

Those expressions which liberate the elementary acception of the word, *upāṃśú* (§ 1), *tūṣṇīm* (§ 2), do not designate states of silence, but the murmured speech or inward speech which is formed into a valid recitation, as well as audible speech. And even when *ánirukta* is reduced to an indistinct phonation, the result condenses, so to say, all the values of an

explicit recitation: so we have those ritual cries, those interjections like *svâhā* (called *ánirukta* in the passage quoted under § 7), or that 'exalted rumour' (*praṇava*), *óṃ*—that is to say, precisely the *o* of the *aniruktagāna* (§ 4) followed by an indiscriminate nasal sound: a perfectly continuous sound, which represents, as we know, the highest manifestation of the *bráhman*, as the *ánirukta* is the highest one of Prajāpati.[9]

Generally speaking, *ánirukta* includes all the notions that have an 'indefinite' existence: *ā́yus* (and other temporal values that spread through a cyclical or indeterminate duration of time), *rétas* (which in itself escapes all structure), *prāṇá* (which submit to itself the 'breaths' and specialised 'organs' and in which according to the Upaniṣads speech is to be sacrificed). *Ánirukta* bears on the whole (*sarvá*), insomuch as the whole transcends the sum (*víśva*) of its elements.

Applied to defined and 'structured' things, *ánirukta* is what completes and perfects them. At the end of the divine identifications which make of the consecrate one a king, there must be a fifth and last apostrophe of the priest to the king, but this apostrophe is *ánirukta*, without identification, such as to lay into the new prince 'a complete, an unlimited vigour' *ŚB*. V. 4. 4. 13. At the end of the audible recitations, of the explicit lauds, there must be a *tūṣṇīṃśaṃsa*, which perfects (*saṃ-sthā-*) the sacrifice *AB*. II. 31. 5. According to a quite Vedic paradox, *ánirukta* is that which perfectly finishes by the very fact of its being unfinished. The sacrificer becomes really an *ātmán*, the sacrifice becomes a *bráhman* only if *ánirukta* is added to the structures elaborated by the priests: *ātmán* and *bráhman* have then a perfect reality on the three planes, human, sacrificial and divine.

Ánirukta would not have acquired such importance, had it not happened in coincidence with one of the phases of Prajāpati's development. It tends to merge with Prajāpati itself, to enter into the scheme of Fire Altar which symbolizes the reconstruction of the god.

Identical at first with the *mánas* (the elementary *ánirukta*), Prajāpati became dispersed, dissolved in his creative works; his *rása*, his *rétas*, his word (*vā́c*) went astray, he became *visṛṣṭavāc*. The task of the priests is to reconstitute him. But when they have gathered the 'definite' structures (*nírukta*), they realize they have only restored his form as 'limited' by speech: they have not reached his essential form, the infinity of time and space. By means of *ánirukta*

9. *Oṃ* is used as a substitute for a syllable, Caland ad *ĀpŚS*. II. 12. 4; we have *o* (*ṃ*) substitute for *ā* (*ṃ*) in *o3 śrāvaya Āp*. II. 15. 3; *oṃ* is opposed to *vāc JUB*. I. 2. 1 and passim; *oṃ* as *rikta* 'empty', *parāk* 'away' *AĀ*. II. 3. 6; *o* is the breath, *a* is the speech *JUB*. IV. 12. 2 and 14. 2; *o* is the *rasa*, *vāc* is the *brahman JB*. II. 78 (Oertel *JAOS*. XVIII p. 35) and cf. *JUB*. I. 24. 3.

they will build the god anew in his fulness. Let us think of the symbol of the sand: 'and as to why (the adhvaryu) scatters sand: that (altar of) Agni is Prajāpati, and Prajāpati is the whole *bráhman.* Now that sand is (put) in (the place of) the lost part of the *bráhman*; and that part of it which has not been lost is this fire-alter which is now being built: thus when he scatters sand he restores to him that lost part of the *bráhman.* That (sand which) he scatters is unnumbered, unlimited; for who knows how great is that lost part of the *bráhman*? And verily he who, knowing this, scatters sand, restores the whole, complete Prajāpati' *ŚB.* VII. 3. 1. 42.

In identical terms, as we have seen (§ 11), *ánirukta*—that element itself unnumbered, unlimited like the sand—allows the reconstruction of Prajāpati 'full and whole'. *Ánirukta* is at first unlimited speech as *áparimita*, this closely connected term, is an act without measure.

So appears that the term *ánirukta*, though not often used in the *Brāhmaṇas*, plays the most important part in the thought inspiring these texts. It bears as consequences that 'indistinct manifestation' (§ 11) that India, under a great number of names, seeks to find beyond perceptible forms, as their source and their prolongation at one time, and which is called according to the disciplines *vāsanā*, *saṃskāra*, *dhvani*, *sphoṭa*.

It is more difficult to detect its antecedents, because the language of the Hymns ignores the word and that, merged itself in *ánirukta* as much perhaps as in **atyukta*, it abolishes any line between the phenomena and their projection into the realm of *niṇyá*, of *gúhya*, of the innumerable hidden abodes. The *nivácana* of the *Ṛgveda* supposes a **nirvacana* which compensates it. But perhaps a likening to the primordial *ásat*, or to the *apraketám salilám* 'the moving without exterior sign' of the cosmogonic hymn X. 129, is, at least on the cosmic plane, more directly commendable. It is just the same with *ánṛta* as 'not ordered': however, the evolution which has marked the way from *ánṛta* to *ṛtá* and the pushing back of the former towards hostile zones is quite alien to the *ánirukta* exalted by the Brāhmaṇas, a non-temporal principle and co-existent with *nírukta*. One of the images which may have given form to the new notion is that which arose about the incest of the Father, that 'pre-Prajāpatian' theme of the *Ṛgveda*: the sperm which falls in silence (cf. above § 9) and reaches the *mánas* (*manānák RV.* X. 61, 6?), at first lost and dispersed (*jahatur viyántā*, ibid.), pours itself into the *yóni* of the *sukṛta*, that is to say (as will be glossed by the *Brāhmaṇas*) into the womb of this maid who is the *védi*. It is the very 'dramatization' of the *ánirukta*. We may think of the famous parable of the four 'quarters' of speech (*RV.* I. 164. 45): three deposited in secret move not, the fourth grade of speech men

speak. Now we see by *ŚB.* IV. 1. 3. 16 that the three secret parts compose an *ánirukta*, which prolongs in silence the human language.

Such are the fertile elements which have ensured to this term, passed like a meteor across the Indian languages, that vitality and that necessity it is provided with.

L. Silburn

Vedic Problems and their Growth

By

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When, a few years ago, I had the honour of addressing an Indian audience, I said, "if we find an ancient weapon or tool or even a building, how are we to know that they are connected with the Vedic people?" The study of Indian antiquities has now so much expanded that it may be profitable to pause and consider which of the special branches of scientific Indian inquiries may properly be called Vedic.

Vedic studies in the West began by being purely grammatical. The problem then was to find out what the words of the Vedas meant. But Vedic problems did not begin in this simple way. The interest of Europeans (apart from the rivalries of statesmen and the ventures of merchants) was first roused by the enthusiasm of Sir William Jones. He did not get very far, but by his founding the Asiatic Society and his plan for publishing the Asiatic Researches he kept interest alive, and he at least approached the subject in the right spirit, for he said, "it is not the truth of our national religion, as such, that I have at heart, it is truth itself".

But Sir William Jones, in spite of his eagerness to explore Indian life and culture, never became acquainted with the Vedas. At most he seems to have read some of the Upanishads, and he took them to be a compendium of the Vedic hymns. It was half a century after his death that Max Müller in 1849 began to issue the *Ṛgveda* with Sāyaṇa's bhāyṣa. Since then Vedic studies have progressed, and now we see them flourishing in their true home. They now include various branches of study, grammatical, archaeological, geological, anthropological, but which of them can properly be called Vedic? In what way do they help us to interpret the actual hymns? About the grammatical aspect there is no doubt, and of that I do not intend to say much, as it has been most ably treated by Dr. R. N. Dandekar in *Progress of Indic Studies 1917–1942*, the whole of which he has edited, and of which he has also written the chapter, *Twenty-five Years of Vedic Studies.*

But the linguistic branch, once it had started, inevitably led to wider problems, and the directions they took were largely determined by Max Müller, who had his own special interests. He was eager to know all that the Vedas can tell us, but he wanted to get back beyond these, and inquire into the origin of man, the origin of human speech, and the origin of religion. But instead of proceeding from the more known to the less known, and asking how far back we can trace Vedic culture, he preferred to start at the other end and

inquire how the human race began. In fact he was thinking (as he himself said) of "the times when no Aryan language did exist, when no verb or noun had yet been formed, when man, in fact, was hardly yet a man in the full sense of that word, but only the embryo of a man, without speech, and, therefore, without reason." We need not trouble about his theory of the origin of language, but it is the fact that he took the Aryan languages as an example of the way in which languages have originated, and he held that "if we have say, eight hundred material or predicative roots and a small number of demonstrative elements given us, then, roughly speaking the riddle of language is solved".

Whether the origin of all languages is a Vedic problem can only be decided when other unavoidable questions have been considered. One of these is the origin of the Aryan or Indo-European languages themselves, and even this is only a fragment of the essential question : who were the people who spoke these languages and where did they come from ? The question at once widens out into an inquiry about the whole culture of a prehistoric people. It involves far more than questions of grammar, and it cannot be said to be finally answered even now. New evidence has been accumulating, and this is often so contradictory that the stages reached in the inquiry do not represent more and more certain conclusions but are rather revolutionary theories which contradict the older views, and which result in attempts to start again from the beginning.

The first conclusions rested on very scanty evidence. Even the archaeologists of the time knew very little about the rich store of antiquities to be found all over Europe and representing quite different cultures. On the other hand the philologists imagined that before the Aryans entered Europe the whole continent was mostly uninhabited. The first revolution in such theories came when the view was started that the home of the Aryans was in Europe, but no agreement was reached as to what part of the continent this was, whether south Russia or Scandinavia or the plains of Hungary.

Next came the discovery of the Hittite language in Asia Minor and this was found to be related to the Aryan group. It appears to have been the language of the ruling class, who were presumably of Aryan descent, and not the language of the mass of the Hittite people, who spoke a non-Syrian tongue now known as Proto-Hittite. It is impossible to go into details here. The essential is that a large number of clay tablets in cuneiform script were found at Boghazkeui some 90 miles east of Angora, the present Turkish capital, between 1907 and 1913. They are in several languages, the most important being Hittite. It was put down as another branch of the Aryan group, and was taken to be another example of an Aryan group issuing from their

seems to be that here, far to the west, we have stumbled upon the Aryans on the move to the east". This is not the view of the latest investigators, as may be seen from the latest Hittite grammar of Sturtevant and Hahn, published last year (Vol. 1. Revised ed. New Haven, 1951). One important conclusion reached by these authors is that Hittite is not just another language to be added as another branch at the side of Sanskrit, Greek etc., but that it represents a still earlier stage than anything that can be inferred about primitive Aryan from the other known groups. Another important fact mentioned by these authors is that "Ferdinand Sommer has made it seem probable that the Hittites entered Asia Minor from the east, and that they learned to write before they settled in Hattusas (the Hittite capital)." And where did they learn to write? They used the cuneiform syllabary, which they took over from the Babylonians — a proof that they were once settled much further to the east. The theory of the European origin of the Aryans appears to be losing all its support and even its supporters, for even some of the Germans, who have been among its most eager defenders, are going back to Asia as the Aryan home. One of the latest German authorities says, "the question of the Indo-Germanic home is still disputable, and the most divergent views thereon have been expressed. Every region from west Europe to the nearer East and Central Asia have been claimed" (E. Schwarz: *Deutsche und Germanische Philologie*, Heidelberg, 1951, p. 12).

But what has all this to do with the Vedas? Nothing in what we know of the Hittites directly. The Hittite language belongs to the Aryan group which preserves an original *k*- sound as in Latin *centum*, as opposed to the group Indian, Iranian, and Slavonic, which has changed it into *ś* or *s* as in Sanskrit *śatam*. Hittite may thus have as little connexion with Vedic as Greak or German have. But among the tablets is one in the language of the Mitanni, a people adjoining the Hittites. It appears to be a treaty between the Hittite king and the Mitanni, and concludes with appeals to gods, among whom are mentioned four that are recognized as *Mitra*, *Varuṇa*, *Indra*, and the *Nāsatyas*. Nevertheless the important question remains, are they Vedic gods who have been recognized and adopted by the Hittites and Mitanni or are they Mitanni gods, who at some period have been admitted to the Vedic pantheon? That remains a problem still to be solved, for scholars are not yet in agreement. Prof. Kretschmer concluded that the names of the gods were borrowed from the Hittites, but even if they were borrowed, they may have already been well established as Vedic gods. There is at least definite evidence of Sanskrit speakers in the Hittite region, as among the tablets there is a manual written in Hittite on the management of horses in which Sanskrit words appear, *aika-vartanna* (=Skt. *ekavartanam*, 'one turning') and other words showing forms that represent *traya*-, *pañca*-, *sapta*-.

This must be left as a problem about which even the experts have not made up their minds. But a very different point of view has been raised by Dr. A. D. Pusalker in *Bhārata Kaumudī* (the volume of studies in honour of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji) in his article on *Mohenjo-daro and Ṛgveda.* Dr. Pusalker prefaces his discussion with the question of the original home of the Aryans. Unfortunately he uses the Greek word 'autochthones' (which he misspells) in speaking of the original Aryans, but as no one now uses the word in the original Greek sense, and as everyone uses it in his own way without defining it, we can well dispense with a word which is neither Indian nor English. Let us use Dr. Pusalker's own phrase 'the Indian home theory'. Now that the theory of a European home is becoming less popular and less probable, we are left with the theory of an Asiatic home, and where in Asia this has led to as many airy guesses as the rival theory. There is only one piece of material evidence which appears to support it, and this comes from the American Exploration in Turkestan in 1904, under the leadership of Dr. Pumfelly. But even granting that the discoveries of this expedition imply the existence of an early Aryan settlement in Russian Turkestan, how does it prove that this was the original Aryan home? There may have been many stages in the widespread wanderings of these peoples of Aryan culture, where they may have been established for centuries.

Dr. Pusalker's theory that the home of the Aryans was India, needs careful consideration, especially as investigators have usually been so much engrossed with their own special theories that they have never fairly weighed its merits. It certainly puts many problems in a very different light, and will need fresh discussions of points which appeared to be settled, but which have now become reversed. Dr. Pusalker promises us a full treatment of his theory later, and we shall be glad to know whether he thinks that the 'wave after wave of Aryan colonizers' developed their special features as separate languages in India or whether the Aryans while in India were still Proto-Aryans and undivided in speech, and also whether the culture that we actually know as Vedic was later than the break up of the Aryan family. If it was later, then the question of the spread of the primitive Aryans is not a Vedic problem at all, however worthy it may be as a subject of independent investigation.

In Dr. Pusalker's discussion there is one feature that stands out prominently—the question of chronology. It brings out one of the weakest assumptions made by Western scholars. They have usually placed the end of the mantra period at 1000 B. C. Yet, as Winternitz pointed out, this is a quite arbitrary figure. Max Müller in working back from the later stages of Sanskrit literature put 1000 B. C. as a *minimum* date for the close of the mantra period. It could not be any later than 1000 B. C., but this left the question quite open as to how much earlier it might have been, and yet

various Western scholars took 1000 B. C. as if it were a fixed date for the end of the mantra period.

It is well known that this date was challenged by H. Jacobi and Lok. Tilak. Their views did not exactly coincide, but they had at least some positive evidence to work from. This was in the astronomical references in the hymns themselves. Such references would not necessarily take us back to the beginning of the Vedic age, and thus we get such different estimates as 25,000 B. C. by Dr. Das and 11,000 B. C. by Prof. Venkatesvara. It seems that we have here still another Vedic problem, that is, to find out not what various scholars have concluded about it, but to make sure what the actual evidence is which exists in the hymns themselves. Then we may be able to be certain whether we are dealing with the actual utterances of the prehistoric seers or merely with inferences drawn from them by modern investigators.

Here I have attempted to state as impartially as possible some of the main problems still awaiting Vedic students ; and I will add my conviction that the most important factor contributing to their solution is the study of the Vedas themselves as we see it in the work of the scholars like Dr. Sarup whose loss we are now deploring, and in the work of institutions like the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, who are building solid foundations.

Magicians in the Ṛgveda

By

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Magic is described as black, white or natural according as it is practised with the help of a devil, an angel or natural forces. Usually however, magic is understood to be black and magician as one who procures ordinarily unobtainable results with the help of evil spirits. It is supposed that the magician gets control over such spirits by means of some prescribed mysterious rites, or by mere chance and that the spirits, though wicked and prone to mischief, obey the magician without questioning as long as he follows certain magical laws and restrictions. A magician is always supposed to be a selfish man of the world and practises his magic for selfish ends. Magic, therefore, naturally involves harm and injury to the bodies and possessions of others when practised by the magician against them. Evil spirits too, by their very nature, relish this sort of work, though they do it for the magician at his command only on account of a fear of punishment which the magician may inflict on them by means of the uncanny powers which he possesses over them. On the other hand, it is supposed that the evil spirits are always on a keen watch over a possible transgression of a magical law by the magician, who on that account also stands in constant fear of them. He also fears an opponent whether another more powerful magician or a saint, who might turn these devils against him or at least silence them out of action.

Magic whether black or white thus involves coersion or force used on an agent who has no interest or sympathy for the magician or his work, but is supposed to work for him under compulsion. On the other hand, when good or bad results are achieved by a man through an invisible agent who secures them out of love, pity or sympathy for that person, he is said to perform a miracle and the latter is possible only by winning the *grace* of the invisible agent through devout prayer and service. Such a person is called a saint or a devotee. In the *Ṛgveda* the Aryan sages like Vasiṣṭha or Viśvāmitra are often described as securing unexpected results through the grace of a deity whose work in this behalf is described as *daṁsas* or a miracle. Deities like Indra, Varuṇa and Aśvins are said to be performing miracles for their devout worshippers and these miracles consist of good, bad and indifferent results. Thus the crossing of flooded river with ease and safety, defeat and plunder of a mighty enemy or enemies, or acquisition or rewards of various kinds may all be classified under a *daṁsas* or miracle. It must also be remembered in this connection that

though a miracle is generally ascribed to a saint, yet a true saint will never claim that he can perform a miracle since he is fully conscious that the deity performs the miracle out of love or sympathy for him and for which he must remain very grateful to the deity. Thus then there is an essential difference between magic and a miracle both in respect of the basic mental attitude and the method of work, though the results may not be of a different nature. Miracles are performed through the medium of prayer which does not and need not contain any secret formulae or seductive words, while magic is performed through secret formulae and seductive arrangement of words etc., which tempt or compel the spirit to work for the employer.

As a general rule, the *Ṛgvedic* sages are not magicians, but only devout worshippers of gracious deities. They, however, show their consciousness of magicians, both Aryan and non-Aryan, who often worked against them and their property. They are naturally horrified at their wicked, dirty and unscrupulous methods of securing their ends and they fervently pray to their gods like Agni and Indra to destroy the magician and his magic. The magician and the devils through whom he worked his magic are mentioned under various names in the *Ṛgvedic* sūktas and the following is an attempt to present a picture of these in brief.

Most of these magicians were naturally non-Aryan and are described on different occasions as *adevas* (not loyal to the gods), *anṛtadevas* (admirers of and devoted to falsehood), *mūradevas* (admirers of and devoted to foolish spirits), *śiśnadevas* (admirers of and devoted to sexual pleasures), *ayajvans* (non-sacrificers) and *anyavratas* (devoted to and obeying the laws of others) i. e., non-Aryan gods. These epithets suggest their religious faith; but as regards their social morality they are repeatedly denounced as *aghaśaṁsas* (speakers of wicked words), *duśśaṁsas* (speakers of evil words), *vācā stena* (robber of words i. e., denying the statements of others), *asataḥ vaktā* (maker of false accusations), *dvayu* or *dvayāvins* (double-dealers trying to extract advantages from both sides i.e., the Vedic gods and the devils), *ripu*, *aghāyu* or *vṛka* (bent on harm or mischief, unscrupulously wicked and greedy like a wolf). Lastly, they are called *asutṛps* and *kravyāds* i.e., feeders on life and eaters of raw flesh like their devils. From some of these epithets and some passages in Maṇḍala V and VII of the *Ṛgveda* it is also clear that some Aryans too had taken to these dirty practices. Says an Atri poet (V. 12. 4 *cd*, 5) :— 'Who are these that guard the foundation of falsehood, Oh Agni? Who are these that defend the false speech? These unfaithful ones (*viṣuṇa*) had once been your friends, Oh Agni. Though they were kind, they have chosen to be unkind. They have ruined themselves by their words by making false accusations against a straightforward person'. This same poet in the same hymn in v. 2, says that he does not serve a *yātu* either openly or covertly (*na sahasā na dvayena*),

suggesting thereby that his accusers are doing so. In the same strain a Vasiṣṭha poet protests :— 'Have I admired and served falsehood like god or have I worshipped the gods falsely (i.e., hypocritically *dvayena*) ? Why then do you, Oh Agni, become angry with me ? (believing what these my accusers say). May they the speakers of spiteful speech go to eternal destruction. May I die to-day if I am an employer of Yātus or if I have tortured the life of a man (like them). But may he who falsely calls me an employer of Yātus be deprived of his ten sons. May Indra with his mighty weapon kill him who accuses me of being a *yātudhāna* when I have no association with the Yātus, and also him who himself a devil-monger (*rakṣas*) proclaims that he is straightforward. May he go down as the lowest of all creatures. (VII. 104. 14-16)'. Both the passages clearly suggest Aryans who had secretly taken to these magic practices of employing Yātus and devils, but outwardly professed Vedic religion and at the same time tried to transfer their own guilt to other innocent victims. In v. 13 of this same hymn it is said that Soma does not help a crooked man nor him who wields his temporal power wickedly. This too is clearly a reference to an Aryan priest and his patron king who had taken to these low practices. There is yet another passage in the same Maṇḍala which leads to the same conclusion. At VII. 21. 5 the poet solemnly declares :— 'The Yātus have not actuated us, Oh Indra, nor have the Vandanas (meek-looking devils) with their secret lores (*vedyābhiḥ*) done so. May noble Indra assert himself against every deceitful creature. Let not those that exhalt sexual enjoyment above all (*śiśnadevāḥ*) officiate at our sacrifice'. By implication here also we must assume that there were some among the Aryans who secretly employed the services of the Yātus and Vandanas for securing their selfish ends. The last line is significant; it suggests that these persons could associate themselves with the sacrifice, but the poet does not want them because they are *śiśnadevāḥ* or the exhalters of sex-enjoyment. The preposition *api* in *apiguḥ* signifies 'close association' and not a mere casual visit (see Grassmann : *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda* p. 75 on *api*). It is but natural that the poet should be extremely wild against those who have outwardly followed the Vedic religion but inwardly made common cause with the magician who is the enemy of the Aryan.

There are two long hymns in the *Ṛgveda*, one in Maṇḍala VII and the other in Maṇḍala X, which very graphically describe the activities of the devil-mongers and their devils. They are respectively No. 104 and 87. Both are full of a feeling of burning hatred mingled with that of an intense horror for the devil-mongers and their loathesome devils and practices. These devil-mongers or magicians have received different significant names at the hands of the Vedic Aryans in these two hymns and also at other places in the *Ṛgveda*. Thus they are called (1) ***Atrins*** or the

possessors of Atras; (2) *Arātīvans* or the friends of the Aratis; (3) *Druhvans* or the masters of the Druhs; (4) *Yātudhānas* or *Yātumats* i.e., the employers of the Yātus; (5) *Rakṣases, Rakṣasvins* or *Rakṣoyujs* i.e., the associates of the Rakṣases (6) and lastly, *Huraścits* i.e., the knowers and employers of the Hurs or Hvaras. These names are derived from the names of the different kinds of devils which are used by the persons to whom the names are given. There are, however, some more kinds of devils which are mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* though there are no corresponding names for their human employers. Of these six, two namely, Yātudhāna Rakṣas, are more prominently used in the two above mentioned hymns. The others are found scattered here and there in the *Ṛgveda*.

I shall now give whatever information can be gathered about them in the *Ṛgveda*, taking the devil-mongers first and then their devils in an alphabetical order :—

[*a*] (*i*) *Atrin* : An Atrin is called a Paṇi and a wolf (VI. 51. 14), a godless and double-dealing devil-monger (Rakṣas, IX. 104. 6). An Atrin is also identified or co-ordinated with a Rakṣas at IX. 86. 48. He is condemned as *Duśśaṁsa* and *Dūḍhī* i.e., wicked in speech and thought at I. 94. 9. Indrāgnī are requested to make him childless *aprajāḥ* at I. 21. 5. The word *prajā* in this context is, I think, significant; it usually signifies *human* offspring, and that too generally of the Aryan. Atrin, therefore, is a human enemy and very likely an Aryan turned into a devil-monger. As regards the meaning of Rakṣas see below [*b*] *v*.

(*ii*) *Arātīvan*: He is called a greedy and wicked wolf (*aghāyu*, *sānuka* and *vṛka*) like the Atrin; he seeks to ruin the priest by his double-dealing (*dvaya*) I. 147. 4; II. 23. 7. Here also the word *dvayā* is important; it clearly shows that these Arātivan were outwardly followers of the Vedic religion but had taken to the magic practices secretly.

(*iii*) *Druhvan*: Indra sends his śaru against a man who is *Druhvan* i.e., an employer of the *Druh* (*druhvane manuṣe*, X. 99. 7). He is also requested to heat up all regions around the man who is the master of the Druhs (*druhvaṇe janāya* : VI. 22.8). The Druhvans are mentioned along with the Dipsus and Abhimātis as those who seek to injure Varuṇa, but do not succeed (I. 25. 14).

(*iv*) *Yātudhāna*: *Yatumāvat*: *Yātudhāna* signifies both the devil as well as their human employers. For the former see below [*b*] *vii*. under Yātu. The latter i.e., the human employers of them are very vividly and scornfully described in two hymns as said above. Thus they are described as the speakers of untruth, attacking a straightforward man who is pious and simple in speech and mind with false accusations (VII. 104. 8–9; X. 87. 11–12). They worship foolish gods and become their associates (*mūradevāḥ* and *sahamūrāḥ* : VII. 104. 24; X. 87. 2; 14, 19).

They are both male and female, the latter working with greater cunning; Indra is requested to cut off their heads so that they may never again see the rising sun (VII. 104. 24). Even here the last part of the request is significant. It is privilege of the Aryan to be able to see the rising sun and lead a long life (cf. VII. 66. 16); the poet requests that this should be denied to the Yātudhāna, as he is not or has ceased to be an Aryan. The Yātudhānas like their friends the Rakṣases operate at night and the Divine Savitṛ is requested to drive them away when he rises (I. 35. 10c). These same Yātudhānas i.e., the human employers of the Yātus are meant at VII. 104. 8–11, 13–16, 24. They are falsifiers of the statements of a priest (*vācā-stenam*, X. 87. 15). They are eaters of raw flesh, feed on living animals and kill the hoofed creatures out of mischief (*kravyādaḥ, asutṛpaḥ, śaphārujaḥ* X 87. 12, 15). They smear themselves with the flesh of men and horses, stealing away the milk, food, cows and horses of the Aryans (VII. 104. 9–10; X. 87. 13, 16). *Yātumāvat*: Agni is requested to give riches which an enemy possessing Yātus may not attack (*na yam yāvā tarati yātumāvān*, VII. 1. 5). Similarly at VIII. 60. 20 the poet prays that a Rakṣas or a Yātu employed by the Yātumāvān may not possess him (*mā no rakṣa āveśīt ...... mā yātur yātumāvatām*). Agni is requested to burn all Yātumāvats along with the Atrins and the Rakṣasvins, at I. 36. 20.

(*v*) *Rakṣas*: In RV. we have two nouns viz., *rakṣás* which is masculine and accented on the suffix and *rákṣas* which is neuter and accented on the stem. The former means a possessor or employer of the latter, which means a devil. Such a change of meaning is also noticed in the case of some other similar pairs of words. Thus *yáśas* (fame), *ápas* (work), *távas* (strength), and *dúvas* (service) are all neuter nouns accented on the stem, while *yaśás* (possessed of fame), *apás* (possessed of skilful work), *tavás* (possessed of strength and *duvás* (possessor of service i.e., a master) are all masculine and accented on the suffix (see Whitney: *Sanskrit Grammar*, secc. 1144*a*, 1151 2*e*, 1166*c*). Thus *rakṣás* which is accented on the suffix and is masculine means an employer of the *rákṣas* i.e., the devil. I shall collect information about him in this paragraph, along with the *Rakṣasvin* and *Rakṣoyuj*. At I. 129. 6-11 the poet seems to refer to the Rakṣáses and their employees namely, the Durmatis and the Atras. V. 6 begins with an appeal to Soma as the killer of Rákṣas, v. 9 requests that the poet should be led over a path which is free from Rakṣas, and concludes with another appeal to Indra as a slayer of the Rákṣas. At three places (VII. 104. 7; X. 76. 4; 87. 22-23) they are called *bhaṅgurāvat* i.e., treacherous, unreliable. They assume the form of birds and put unclean things in the sacrificial yard, flying at night (VII. 104. 18). Like the Yātudhānas the divine Savitā drives the Rakṣases away when he

rises (cf. I. 35. 10). They are themselves liars, but profess that they are honest and further accuse others of being Yātudhānāḥ (cf. VII. 104. 13*c*., 15, 16). They are inimical, non-giving mortals and make harmful and wicked allegations (cf. VIII. 60. 8*ab*, 10). The *Rakṣas* desires to kill the innocent on the strength of being a possessor of the devils (*rakṣastvena*) being himself a speaker of wicked words, a mortal enemy, a double-dealer, and an extremely cruel slayer (*durháṇāvān*, VIII. 18. 13-14). He is an evil-speaking mortal and a wise-acre (*durvidvāṁsam*, VII. 94. 12). Famine and hunger seem to be associated with Rakṣases at VIII. 60. 20, (see below under *Rákṣas*). At VIII. 22. 18 the Aśvins are requested to bring a gift which is not attacked by a Rakṣasvin, while at VIII. 47. 12 the Ādityas are requested to see that there shall be no peace for the Raksaṣvin, both when he departs and arrives. Similarly at VI. 62. 8 all gods are requested to send all their hatred, fury and torture to an associate of the devils (*rakṣoyuje helo, tapur aghaṁ dadhāta*).

(*vi*) *Hurasćit*: The word means 'a friend or the comrade of the Hur, which is a tempting devil) see below *b*. *xi*. At I. 42. 3-4 a Huraścit is described as a waylayer, a plunderer on the road, a double-dealer, a speaker of wicked words and treacherous (*paripanthin*, *muṣīvan*, *dvayāvin* and *aghaśaṁsa*). The Soma juices are described as driving away these senseless (*apracetases*) Huraścits by their sound *in the morning*, at IX. 98. 11. It would appear that they employed their Hurs for tempting away travellers at night and then plunder them at will.

[*b*] I shall now briefly describe the different kinds of evil spirits which served the above-mentioned magicians.

(*i*) *Atra*: This is a neuter noun probably to be derived from √*ad* 'to eat' and means a devouring or voracious devil. At V. 32. 8 Vṛtra himself is called an Atra, while at I. 129. 8 Durmati is said to be attacking a priest in the company of the Atras.

(*ii*) *Arāti*: This is, as the name suggests, a niggardly evil spirit employed by a human magician called *Arātīvan* as seen above. In this sense the word is always used in the plural. They are called *mūra* or foolish at IV. 26. 7, so that the Muras mentioned at VIII. 45. 23 and described as greedy, deriding and haters of prayers are very likely these Arātis. Or perhaps all the devils were called Mūras by the Vedic poets and their worshippers i.e., Yātudhānas were called Mūradevas or Sahamūras (See above under Yātudhāna). The Arātis are called *anapnasaḥ* or paupers at II. 23. 9. They are associated with the Rakṣas, the devil, at IX. 97. 10 and with diseases at VII. 1. 7.

(*iii*) *Kimīdin*: They are haters of prayer, eaters of raw flesh and frightful in appearance. They move in couples at night (cf. VII. 104. 2; 23; X. 87. 13).

(*iv*) *Ducchunā* : This is a swift-killing (*harasvatī*), evil-minded she-devil as the name suggests. She is employed by a mortal against a priest (II. 23. 6) and she frightens her victims (VIII. 75. 13). A dog barking at a medicine-man who is on a professional visit to a noble's house is compared with the Ducchunā at VII. 55, while at X. 37. 12 a niggardly enemy is similarly compared with her. Men sinning against gods are exposed to the influence of these devils (I. 189. 5 ; II. 32. 2). Different deities are requested to drive them away or to kill them.

(*v*) *Druh* : This is a very often mentioned female devil of which the Vedic poet is always afraid. They are non-believers in Indra, godless, mighty, influential and destructive (*anindra, adeva, mahī, bahulā, dhvaras*) as said at I. 13. 31 ; III. 31. 19 ; IV. 23. 7. They have ample snares by which they entangle a man (VII. 59. 8*c*). Their home is a gathering place for the wicked robbers (II. 23. 16) and a prison for men (V. 74. 4*cd*). They live in the Vailasthāna i.e., places where the ground is full of holes like the ant-hills etc., as said at I. 133. 1. Men who practise cruelty and falsehood are exposed to their evil influences (VII. 61. 5 ; II. 30. 9*c*), but the innocent ones are saved from their clutches by the favour of the gods (VIII. 47. 1). A wicked Rakṣas seeks to kill a pious priest with its help (VII. 104. 7) and a female sorcerer moves about at night, concealing herself with its assistance (VII. 104. 17).

(*vi*) *Piśāci* : This is a masculine word and seems to refer to a foggy devil with a shining head and appearing at night (*ambhṛṇa, piśaṅgabhṛṣṭi*) along with the Rakṣas, the devil and the Yātumatīs at I. 133. 5.

(*vii*) *Yātu* : *Yātudhāna* : *Yātumat* : The name is to be derived from the root √*yā* 'to attack' and seems to indicate a bold devil, bent on offence. These are employed by the Yātumāvats to possess or harass a man (VIII. 60. 20). They instigate a man to evil deeds (VII. 21. 5*a*) and men also resort to them out of self-interest (V. 12. 2*c*). They assume the forms of a dog or an owl, a S'uśulūka or a Cakravāka, a wolf, an eagle or a vulture at will. They seek to injure both gods and men and are evil-minded (*dureva* VII. 104. 20*b* ; X. 120. 4). They attack and destroy the sacrificial offerings (*havirmathin*, VII. 104. 21). The words Yātumat also seems to have been used to signify the Yātus themselves at VII. 104. 20, 25 and at I. 133. 2-4. The Yātumatīs rear their heads out of their holes and are 150 in number having an insolent strength (*śardhas*) as said at I. 133. 2-4. Similarly the word Yātudhānī at I. 191. 8 and X. 118. 8 refers to the devils rather than the devil-mongers. Both male and female spirits are mentioned. They operate at night and are naturally invisible, but the sun drives them away in the morning by means of his light.

(*viii*) *Rákṣas* : This neuter word signifies a devil ; see above para [*a*] *v*. The Rakṣas is employed to possess and harass a man by the *Rakṣasvins* (VIII 60. 20). At III. 15. 1 and IX. 85. 1 (cf. also VII. 38. 7; VIII. 35. 16 ; X. 98. 12), these devils are associated with diseases. They live in the deep ditches (*gabhīrāḥ* VI. 75. 9*c*) and gods are requested to force them out, kill or uproot them when they try to come out of their holes (III. 30. 16-17). Indra kills them with weapons which are both *gambhīra* and *ṛṣva* (VI. 18. 10). Agni discovers them among men, cuts its three tops, breaks its backs and triply chops its root (X. 87. 10). This shows how difficult it was to root out a Rakṣas; they grow again and again even when a part of their wretched bodies is left undestroyed. This is why they are called *durgaha* at IX. 110. 12. This concept about the Rakṣas is continued even in the Brāhmaṇas and the epic period.

(*ix*) *Rip* : This is a feminine spirit. It is employed by men and lies hidden by day (II. 32. 2). They were sent to spoil the sacrifice by the Rakṣases, or the devil-mongers (VII. 104. 18). They even seek to injure Indra (VII. 32. 12) and Varuṇa (VII. 60. 9) and have to be driven away from the sacrificial alter (VII. 60. 9). The *priya-agra* of *Rip* mentioned at III. 5. 5 is perhaps the lower world.

(*x*) *Vandana*: This meek-looking (as its name suggests) spirit is mentioned only once in the *RV*. at VII. 21. 5 where it is suggested that it allures men by means of its Vedyās or secret lores.

(*xi*) *Hur*: This is a tempting devil as its name suggests (from √*hvṛ*). It tempts away men by means of its falsely attractive gifts (*yakṣa*). *Yakṣa*, derived from √*yaj* 'to worship', means a falsely attractive gift. Agni is warned against accepting such a gift (*yakṣa*) of any *Hur* at IV. 3. 13, and a Vasiṣṭha poet protests that his prayers do not contain such a Yakṣa, nor any unusual thing (VII. 61. 5). An Atri prays that he should not be punished for any such gift (*yakṣa*) brought by another man (V. 70. 4). Agni and Varuṇa, however, have a full control over these Yakṣas (Agni is called *yakṣasya adhyakṣa* at X. 88. 13 and Varuṇa is called Yakṣin at VII. 88. 6). Very similar to this *Hur*, there appears to be another devil called *Hvaras* (derived from √*hvṛ*) which is sent against men (the root √*dhā* is used in such a context by an Anyavrata (V. 20. 2 ; II. 23. 6)

There are, on the other hand, a few hymns in the *Ṛgveda* which may be considered as bordering on the white magic ; such e.g., are VII. 55; X. 145; 163 etc. But more about this will be dealt with in some other paper.

उच्चरत्>उच्चरत्

A Vedic Text-Critical Study

By

VISHVA BANDHU, *Hoshiarpur.*

1. The extant Vedic text-tradition records the following variants of one of its constituent verses:—

(i) तच् चक्षुर् देवहितं, शुक्रम् उच्-चरत् ।
पश्येम शरदः शतं, जीवेम शरदः शतम् ॥ RV. VII, 66. 16.

(ii) तच् चक्षुर् देवहितं, पुरस्ताच् छुक्रम् उच्-चरत् ।
पश्येम × ×, जीवेम × × ॥ (SV.) GG. III. 8. 5.

(iii) तच् × ×, × × उच्-चरत् ।
पश्येम × ×, जीवेम × ×, शृ(?श्रृ)णुया(?या)म × × ॥
VSK. XXXVI. 24.

(iv) तच् × ×, × × उच्-चरत्[1] ।
पश्येम × ×, जीवेम × ×, [2]प्रब्रुवाम × ×, श्रृणु(?णु)याम[3] × ×
MS. IV. 9. 20.

(v) तच् × ×, × × उच्-चरत् ।
पश्येम × ×, जीवेम × × श्रृ(?श्रृ)णुयाम* × ×, प्रब्रवाम × ×
अदीनाः स्याम × ×, भूयश्च × शतात् ॥ VS. XXXVI. 24;
MG. I. 22. 11.

(vi) तच् × ×, × × उच्-चरत् ।
पश्येम × ×, जीवेम × ×, नन्दाम × ×, मोदाम × ×, भवाम × ×,
श्रृणवाम × ×, प्रब्रवाम × ×, अजीताः स्याम × × ज्योक् च सूर्यं दृशे
TA. IV. 42. 5; APMB. II. 5. 12-21; HG. I. 7. 10.

(vii) पश्येम × × ॥१॥ जीवेम × × ॥२॥ बुध्येम × × ॥३॥ रोहेम
× × ॥४॥ पुष्येम[4] × × ॥५॥ भवेम × × ॥६॥ भूषेम × × ॥७॥
भूयसीः × शतात् ॥८॥ AV. XIX. 67. 1-8

1. Only one Ms. reads thus; all others (and Schroeder as well as Satavalekar) have उच् ।

2. This *Pāda* is read by some Mss. only.

3. So corrected by Schroeder; Satavalekar reads as in Mss, °णु° ।

4. So read by Roth and Whitney; Pāndurang reads पूषेम and भूयेम at the respective places.

2. The *RV.* variant may be rendered as follows :—'May we see for a hundred years that brilliant eye, the source of light to gods[5], arise[6]. May we live for a hundred years.'

3. The *RV.* hymn under reference consists of nineteen verses. It is in praise of Mitra and Varuṇa in the first three as well as the last three verses, and of Ādityas in the ten verses, 4—13 and of Sūrya alone in the remaining three verses, 14-16. While all the six verses addressed to Mitra and Varuṇa and also six out of the ten in praise of Ādityas, to wit, the verses, 4-9 are in *Gāyatrī* metre (8+8 : 8), the remaining seven, namely, the verses, 10-16 are in mixed measures, the first six (i. e. 10-16) constituting a double *Pragātha* in the scheme of *Bṛhatī* (8+8 : 12+8), *Satobṛhatī* (12+8 : 12+8) *Bṛhatī* : *Sato-bṛhatī*, *Bṛhatī*, *Sato-bṛhatī* and the last, namely, the verse 16 being a *Puraḥ-uṣṇik* (12 : 8+8).

4. The last-named verse (i. e. 16) being thus metrically isolated and, therefore, ill-fitting in the otherwise quite regular scheme obtaining in the rest of the hymn, naturally, becomes an object of text-critical suspicion. And, on the basis of the above analysis, it might be permissible to suggest that, originally, it was also a *Gāyatrī* which very well fitted in with the general metrical scheme of the hymn of there being a central *Pragātha*, preceded as well as followed by a number of *Gāyatrīs*. This suggestion may be said to be indirectly supported by the traditional aṣṭaka-wise text-division which includes this verse along with the last three *Gāyatrīs* in the same varga sub-division. That the first two *pādas* as read at present syntactically constitute one simple

5. Cf. RV. I, 115, 1, praising Sūrya as the eye of Mitra, Varuṇa and Agni. The abstract noun (√धा >) हित- is accordingly taken here in the sense of 'light' (cf. धामन् for this sense of the radical). But the intended meaning might be 'the source of good or delight to gods', √धा (=√हि) being taken in the sense of protection, support, joy or good in general. According to either explanation, the word देवहित- is to be construed as a *bahuvrīhi* compound, in which the first member retains its accent (cf. Pā. VI. 2. 1). Or, it may be a case of a *dative tatpuruṣa* compound (cf. Pā. II, 1, 36) in which the second member has the active and not the abstract significance and the first member retains the accent (Cf. Pā. VI. 2. 45). It is also to be mentioned that while Sāyaṇa's gloss, 'देवानां हितम्' aiming at explaining the word as a *genetive tatpurṣa* compound cannot be accentually tenable (cf. Pā. VI. 1. 223), his alternative explanation, 'देवेन हितम्' (i. e. god-established) taking the word as an *instrumental tatpuruṣa* compound is, however, accentually as well as semantically quite acceptable (cf. Pā. VI, 2, 48). Compare दिवीव चक्षुराततम् (RV. I. 20. 20) which, likewise speaks of the Sun as an eye fixed in the sky, the radical आ√तन् here denoting the act of fixing.

6. उच्-चरत् is accusative neuter singular of the composite present participial base उच्-चरत्- (<उद्√चर्), retaining the accent of the second *kṛt* member (cf. Pā. VI. 2. 139). Sāyaṇa's rendering of it as a finite verb, (=उद् गच्छति) is wrong, because in that case the accent should have been on the preceding prepositional component and the following verbal component should have lost its accent (cf. Pā. VIII. 1. 28).

sentence, i.e., तद् देवहितं शुक्रम् उच्-चरत् चक्षुः शतं शरदः पश्येम[7] would appear further to strengthen the above suggestion in that they might originally have read as तच् चक्षुः शुक्रम् उच्-चरत्, पश्येम शरदः शतम् and, in this way, constituted a regular first *Gāyatrī* hemistich, leaving the third *pāda* जीवेम° to form a regular second *Gāyatrī* hemistich to be construed as an independent sentence. Thus, then, what was originally a *Gāyatrī* might have resulted under the combined impact of the preceding *Sato-bṛhatī* and the following *Gāyatrī* measures into the present *Puraḥ-uṣṇik*, further development into the full *Sato-bṛhatī* form having been arrested after the first *pāda* had become enlarged through the in-take of the adjective देव-हितम्.

5. May be, the original *Gāyatrī* was, preferably, as follows :—

तच् चक्षुर् देवहितं, पुरस्ताच् छुक्रम् उच्-चरत्। पश्येम शरदः शतम् ॥

While the entire array of the above-cited SV. (GG) and (White as well as Black) YV. text-tradition points to the original presence of the adverb पुरस्तात् at the head of the second *pāda*, the syntactical integrity, in this structure, of the entire verse constituting one simple sentence with the object चक्षुः along with its adjectival adjuncts being contained in the first two *pādas* and the subject-inclusive predicate being supplied by the third *pāda* considerably adds to the support in favour of this hypothesis. And, the first *pāda* being too short by one syllable need hardly stand in its way, for, this defect, the so-called *Nicṛt* phenomenon of the ancient prosodists, is frequently met with in Veda (cf. e g. the verses 1-3, 8, 9 and 17 and, in particular, the verse 2 of the RV. hymn under present reference).

6. Following this hypothesis, it seems that the third *pāda* of the present *Puraḥ-uṣṇik* version (जीवेम°) was the last to emerge on the scene, being an apt summary of the entire original *Gāyatrī*. In other words, it first came as a pithy gloss in that the prayer that we may see the sun arise for a hundred years simply means that we may live for a hundred years. But as soon as it got fixed up in its present position, giving the quadruped *Anuṣṭubh* character to the verse, metrical repercussion was set up towards restoration of the *status quo*, namely, the original tri-ped character of the verse. It was at this stage that under the influence of the preceding *Sato-bṛhatī*, the first *Gāyatrī* hemistich was reduced to the present 12 syllable *pāda*, the adverb पुरस्तात् suffering itself to be easily elbowed out without any disturbance being felt in the general sense of the verse. This should have been a hint to the next

7. Cf. Sāyaṇa's difficulty in that he had to read, a second time, the word तत् (i. e. चक्षुः) and, this time, arbitrarily in the accusative case, to supply an object to the transitive verb पश्येम, to be construed as a separate sentence, embodying an auto-suggestive, or prayerful expression of the universal longing for longivity.

pāda (पश्येम°) to cross over to the first hemistich on account of its syntactical connection with the same, but, it seems, the process of modelling up of this verse after the *Sato-bṛhatī* pattern came to a stop here and it was left where it is at present owing to its close structural affinity with the following *pāda* (जीवेम°) which, as said above, being of glossal nature was here only as an extraneous entrant. And, so, the middle *pāda* was left oscillating, syntactically being a continuation of the first *pāda* (and hemistich) and, structurally, being the model on which the third (and last) *pāda* came to be fashioned and tagged on.

7. From the above point of view, the SV. (GG) version of the text under reference may be said to represent that archaic stage at which the last glossal *pāda* (जीवेम°) had already taken up its present position but the process of metrical interaction had not yet set in. Therefore, it is easy enough to see how on account of its having been separated from the RV. context at this stage and, in consequence, freed from the imminent impact of the original *Sato-bṛhatī cum Gāyatrī* axis, the verse has been preserved for us in its SV. (GG) version at the *Anuṣṭubh* stage, emerging prior to the *Puraḥ-uṣṇik* reduction of the present RV. version. In other words, the SV. (GG) version of the verse under reference represents an earlier stage of the Vedic text-tradition than the one represented by its RV. version.

8. The adjectival participle उच्-चरत् originally served the purpose of the third *pāda* (पश्येम°) being syntactically linked up with the first hemistich. That this textual complexion was maintained in the later RV. *Puraḥ-uṣṇik* redaction points to its having been so, as a matter of course, in the earlier SV. (GG) *Anuṣṭubh* extension[8]. In both cases, the additional glossal *pāda* (जीवेम°), naturally, had a loose stringing up with the rest of the verse. This circumstance might have led to the practice of making a longer caesura (यति) than usual between the two *pādas* of the second hemistich (पश्येम° and जीवेम°), bringing about a baffling situation from the point of view of metrical organisation. Therefore, when the close structural affinity between these two *pādas* helped in the matter of their juxtaposition being maintained, a sort of semantic alliance seems to have grown up between them, the verb पश्येम becoming intransitive in the sense of using the eyes for the visual act and the verb जीवेम denoting its original meaning, namely, the use of nose for the act of drawing in the vital breath.

9. The YV. versions cited above represent the next stage of textual

8. It is necessary to employ this inferential method because the SV. (GG) version has unfortunately come down to us without the accent marks which alone could have been the proper determining factor in this matter.

development when the new internal semantic alignment of the two members of the second hemistich compelled the first hemistich which had thus been left in the lurch to take care of itself by suffering the participal उच् चरत् to be slowly transformed into the finite verb उच्-चरत् in order that it could now establish itself as an independent syntactical unit. And, this in its turn, had its own repercussion on the second hemistich which now began to feel itself free to project forwards without taking into consideration any kind of its organic relationship with the first hemistich. It was in some such way that six new *pādas* modelled after the two *pādas*, पश्येम° and जीवेम°, gradually came into being and began to be read along with them, each being an independent syntactical unit. While the above-cited variant (VI) ending with the *pāda* ज्योक्° contains the last reminiscence of the topical integration between the original first hemistich and the second hemistich, now swelled up beyond recognition, in its reference to the desire to continue to see the sun, the variant (VII) may be said to represent the stage when the पश्येम° series of eight *pādas* had been set up, in their own right, as autonomous prayer-units without there being left behind anything reminiscent of the original first hemistich तच् चक्षुर° ।

10. In the light of the above sequential analysis, the Kāṇva YV. variant (*i e.* citation No. III), reading the participle उच्-चरत् in the first hemistich and also permitting the springing up of the new *pāda* शृणुयाम° as an extension of the second hemistich may possibly represent, indeed, if the reading could be depended upon, the traditional stage when the *pāda* पश्येम° still possessed some syntactical link with the first hemistich even though the verb had started being construed intransitively, thus preparing the ground for the emergence and acceptance of the new additional *pāda* शृणुयाम°. But because the verb शृणुयाम lacks that general glossal capacity which is possessed by the verb जीवेम in the present context, it is probable that it appeard only after the verb पश्येम had finally broken away from the first hemistich and become well established in its intransitive significance. Obviously, then, the Kāṇva reading उच्-चरत् may have to be treated as an accentual suspect and the predicative accent may have to be substituted for the participial one (cf. शृणुयाम) which being variously and wrongly marked in the variants III-V also needs necessary correction.

11. In this way, the entire YV. tradition may be said to have uniformly read the verbal form उच् चरत् in place of the original participial form उच्-चरत् as preserved intact in RV. and as inferable for SV. The shift of accent in the present case seems to have represented a shift of interest in

actual life. While उच्-चरत् of RV. and SV. invites one to enjoy the romantic ecstacy and feel the lyrical urge, being the real nectar of life, उच्-चरत् of YV. simply wants one to note that it is time that one started the round of duties with the daily prayers. In a word, the poet has retired in favour of the priest. Thus, this kind of textual variation is to be studied as a historical index to a long evolutionary process in the field of semantics and its socio-psychological background and is not to be brushed aside as a mere dialectic aberration, easily amenable to the usual canons of emendation. While one must be grateful to the countless generations of the Vedic priests for all that they have done to preserve the Vedic lore through the ages, one cannot help expressing one's deep grief at the irretrievable loss of the huge mass of text-data, including the accentuation of a large number of even the extant works.[9]

9. It is nothing short of a stroke of misfortune for science that Bloomfield's Concordance in registering the accented Vedic texts without their accent-marks cannot give proper lead in a study like this which, as shown above, so much depends on accentual evaluation of those texts.

SECTION III
Literary Studies

An Indo-Scythian Version of the Kuśa Jātaka

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Among the well-known stories of the Bodāsaf or Bodhisattva the story of Kuśa has long attracted notice. It can be seen in the Tibetan Tales translated by A. Schiefner and W. R S. Ralston, who already quote a Singhalese poem. It is known in the Pāli Jātaka book (no. 531) of the Sthaviravāda school. Two copies of the Kuśa tale occur in the *Mahāvastu* of the Lokottaravādins, whence it has passed to the Bhadrakalpāvadāna and the Chinese version translated by Ed. Chavannes in his *Cinq Cents Contes* (No. 81). It is found in the Damamūka, and has recently been found in a Gilgit Sanskrit manuscript (*Gilgit Manuscripts* III. 1, ed. Nalinaksha Dutt, 1947).

The story tells how Kuśa, son of the king of Vārāṇasī is wedded to Sudarśanā, daughter of the king of Kānyakubja, but because of his ugliness she returns to her father. Kuśa follows and his opportunity to win her affections arrives when disappointed suitors of Sudarśanā blockade the city. Kuśa defeats them outside the walls and becomes a Cakravartin ruler.

There are two main texts. In one Kuśa puts to flight the hostile princes by means of his *siṃhanāda* 'lion's roar', in the other he confounds the enemy by sounding a conch shell. The second variant is that given in the Gilgit manuscript of the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda school from which the Tibetan text translated by A. Schiefner is derived. The Damamūka, which contains tales heard by two Chinese travellers in Khotan and written down in Chinese (whence comes our Tibetan version), belongs to this same group.

To these texts and versions the present text can be added. It belongs to the second group where the conch is used. Among the translations of Buddhist literature restored to us by the sands of Chinese Turkestan is a poem entitled the *Jātaka-stava,* in which forty-eight Jātaka tales are cited in verses praising the Bodhisattava for his great powers of endurance in former existences. This *Jātaka-stava* has reached us in a translation in one of the languages of the Indo-Scythians, the language of the ancient kingdom of Khotan. This is a type of Buddhist composition known to us also in the Buddhist Sanskrit poem the *Jātaka-stava* of Jñānayaśas, of which an edition was printed in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. IX.

The tale of Kuśa occurs on folio 35 recto 2 of the facsimile published in Codices Khotanenses (Copenhagen, 1938). It was a long time before the tale

could be identified since by a scribal error the *ku* of *Kus'a* was written *ttra*, an akṣara similar, but easily distinguished.

A transcription of this text was printed in Khotanese Texts I 1945[1], but for convenience, since the book will not be widely known, the text is repeated here.

For Buddhist studies it is well-known how important the translations of lost Indian originals are whether in Tibetan, Chinese, or in the smaller mass of texts in the language of Sogdiana, in Turkish, Tocharian, or the Saka of Khotan and Tumshuq. The *Jātaka-stava* is one of the many manuscripts discovered in the closed chamber of the temple of Tun-huang.

I give first the text and translation, with a few notes to explain how the interpretation of the text has been secured.

Verse 1

tte khu sumīre garna samudrre kauṣṭāṃde
khu mī tteña beḍe mistä raṃtha pana
dedrrāmye tcephine drro mestye ṣkalana
tcure-ysaña hīne cu hā kṣīrāṣṭe ttraṃda

As when with Mount Sumeru they churned the ocean, so that at that time great tumult arose, with just so great an uproar with mighty noise roared the four-divisioned army which entered into the land.

1. *kauṣṭāṃde* 'they churned', occurs also in *Jātaka-stava* 24 verso 2 *aysmu kauṣṭa mu's'di pracaina* 'mind agitated because of sympathy', and 28 recto 2 *kuṣṭāde kaṃge* 'they broke the skin'. The word is known from Modern Scythian (Ossetic) *änkhosun* 'to make to shake'.

2. *raṃtha-* 'noise', is found as *ratha-* in the Rāma story P 2781. 90 *hvīyasāṃ hīvī rathä* 'noise of human beings' (BSOAS 10. 372).

3. *tcephine* for older *tcaṃphäna* 'with uproar', as in the battle scene E 25. 414 *pani s's'ando tcaṃpha u dū mästä bajāṣṣa* 'on every part of the ground uproar and noise, great tumult'.

4. *drro* 'made noise' is conjecturally taken for older **drautä*, and connected with Middle Persian *dray-* 'to shout'.

5. *ṣkala* 'noise' as in the older E 24. 160, and the Rāma text P 2783. 2. In the medical text in Codices Khotanenses (Khotanese Texts I, 171, 87 recto 4) *gvaña ṣkala* means 'noise in the ear'.

6. *tcure-ysaña* 'of four members, divisions' renders Buddhist Sanskrit *catur-aṅga*. These four parts are in Indian texts horse, elephants, chariots and foot-soldiers. In P 4099 138, however, we find *as'ya hastya gūha rahya tcara-ysanya hīna* 'four-membered army of horses, elephants, oxen and chariots', with oxen instead of foot-soldiers.

Verse 2

tte tta khu mārīña hīne ā aysurāna
prraharenyā kīśana pha satva viśū'na
starda beśe karvīnā pa'jsāṃde kaṃtha
se veña ttye kṣīre yanīde ṇe'māṃ beśta

As the army of Māra or of the Asuras, the many evil men eager to strike spread over all the surroundings, they blockaded the city, that they might make an utter end of the land.

1. *mārīña hīne* 'army of Māra', as in the Bhadracaryā-deśanā 55 verso 4 *māra hīya tvā hīna* 'that army of Māra', and the familiar Pāli *māra-sena*.

2 *prraharenyā*, in-tr. plur. from Sanskrit *praharaṇa-* 'stroke'

3. *kīśana* 'filled with', older *kīśśana-*, renders Sanskrit *ākīrṇa-*.

4. *starda* 'spread, strewn', preterite to the present *star-* in *starāña-* 'to be spread' (P 2893. 251).

5. *karvīnaa-* 'surrounding', adjective to *kara-*, 'outside or surrounding part', see Asia Major, new series, II, 9.

6. *pa'jsāṃde* 'they surrounded, blockaded', preterite to *paljsan-* *paljsata-*, 'put around'.

7. *ṇe'māṃ* 'ending', found only here, may be explained from *nasa'm-* with the participial *-āna-*, hence **nasa'māna*.

8. *beśta*, and verse 4 *beśte* are miswritten for *biśna* 'altogether, entirely', instr. sing. to *biśśa-*.

Verse 3

naraṃdī hāṣṭe tha ttye panake śūka
tte khu dyūma-baste sero spāśe pichaṣṭe
naṣḍodai ttyāṃ va śaṃge ce rrvī' thīye
khu hvastai śaṃdā beśe śaṃdya pasta

You went out towards them, you alone to face it, as a lion looks, in visible form, bound upon ravening. You sounded against them the conch which confounded the mind. When you struck the earth they all fell to the ground.

1. *dyūma-baste* 'bound upon, keen to raven, rob'. I take the word, which is found only here, as *dyūma-* 'robbing' connected with *dyūka* 'robbers' in the simile of the six senses as robbers in one house (*vihāra*, in the Prajñā-pāramitā text, Khotanese Buddhist Texts, p. 55, 20 recto 3). It is then a derivative of *dab-* 'to rob, steal'.

2. *spāśe* 'he looks, appears', as we have it in the Sudhanavadāna *sa khu uttarū sāśa* 'as Uttarakuru appears' (Khotanese Buddhist Texts, p. 22, 60).

3. *nasḍodai* 'he blew'. This is the intended word, but the scribe has made an incomplete akṣara *ṣḍ*. The present *nasḍa'mīdc* 'they below' translates Buddhist Sanskrit *vidhamantu* in the Suvarṇa-bhāsa-sūtra (Khotanese Texts 1, 243) 62 recto 1. In the battle scene of the Rama story we find (P 2781. 89) *padāṃdaṃdä bīysa svc s'aṃga* 'they blew goat's horns and conchs'. The base is √*dam* 'to blow' with *niz-* and *pati-*,

4. *rrvī'* is a miswriting for *uvī'* 'mind'.

5. *hvastai* 'you struck', preterite to *hvah-* 'to strike'. In the Kus'a tale of the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda Vinaya (Gilgit Manuscript) Kus'a carries conch, discus and club (*gadā*).

Verse 4

gujsebrīya hva hva deśe' vīre tcabrrīya
ave'stā byaude ṣe' kṣīre sāno beśte
pha dāṃje byodai ttraśe rrespare ṣṭāna
nāre ysāre ysuṣṭi rruṃde hīya dūva

Of themselves they broke, they scattered everywhere. The land entire got security from its enemies. Being prince Kuśa you attained to great giving. You rejoiced with a thousand wives, each daughter of a king.

1. *gujsabalj-*: *gujsabrīta-* translates Buddhist Sanskrit *dharṣaya-* 'defeat' in the Bhadracaryā-des'anā 55 verso 3. The verb *tcabalj-* corresponds to the Buddhist Sanskrit *abhyavakirati* 'he scatters' in the Suvarṇa-bhāsa-sūtra 68 verso 2.

2. *ave'stā* 'security, freedom from fear', a derivative in *-ā* from *-tati-*, to the word older *avu'tasta* 'not afraid'. It translates here *abhaya-*.

3. *sāno* 'from enemies', for older *sānyau*.

4. *dāṃje* 'to give'. In E 24. 37 we find *ttatatu pharu paṣṭute dāṃgye* 'he promised to give much wealth'.

5. *ttras'e* for *kus'e*. The scribe has clearly written *ttra*, but the similarity of this syllable to *ku* can be seen in 11 verso 3, 28 recto 2 and 30 verso 3.

6. *nāre ysāre* 'one thousand wives', the number is conventional in the tales. King S'ubha renounces a thousand wives in the Jātaka tale given in the Rāṣṭrapāla-paripṛcchā (ed. L. Finot, p. 23, 7). In the Mahāvastu Kus'a refers to *strīṇāṃ sahasram* (II 484. 9).

7. *ysuṣṭi* 'you desired, enjoyed', from *zaus-* Sanskrit *joṣ-*. The *-i* has replaced older *-e* and *-ai* 2nd singular,

Verse 5

tvī puñau satvä śerenīra vestāva
cekrrevartta jsāna hamyai vare tteña ysītha
karmapaha-saṃvere node satva paceḍena
ttene ttā 'aurga mu'hu jse pākāṃ dīna

By your merits beings became doers of good. You were emperor there in that birth. The people properly undertook the rules of the path of good deeds. Therefore I come with homage to your feet.

1. *s'erenira* is writtec for *s'ira-tīra-* 'doing good works', with *-t-* for the similar letter *-n-*, The *-tīra-* is *kīra-* 'work' as an uncompounded word. Another form is found in E *nei'tayīra-* spelt with *-y-*.

2. *karmapaha* 'karmapatha, path of work' which may be either *kus'ala* or *akus'ala* good or bad. The *saṃvara-* 'rule, restriction' is a common word.

3. *node* 'they took, undertook'. The older form is *nānda* from the verb *nās-* : *nāta-* 'take'. Before *n* the *ā* is often replaced by *au*, and that in turn may be written *o*. The same phrase is found in E 13. 14 *nāsa ttū saṃvaru* 'undertake the rule'. In P 2896. 15 (Khotanese Buddhist Texts, p. 12) we find *noma* for *nauma*, older *nāma* 'name'.

4. *'aurga* 'homage'. Each tale in the Jātaka-stava ends with words of reverence in many variant forms.

विद्यापति और चण्डीदास

निबन्धक—**रामावतार पाण्डेय,** डाल्टनगंज (विहार)

विद्यापति और चण्डीदास एक ही विचार-धारा के दो महाकवि एक ही युग में पूर्वी भारत के उस हिन्दु-समाज में अवतीर्ण हुए जो अराजकता और उच्छृंखलता के कारण वर्षों से विध्वस्त था। मिथिला और बंगाल दोनों ही १०वीं सदी ईसा-बाद से ही राजनीतिक विभव से हीन हो रहे थे और देश के इतिहास में उस समय उनका उत्कर्ष नहीं के बराबर था। साहित्यिक पुनरुत्थान की भी वही दशा थी और धार्मिक भावना का भी स्तर अस्थिर था। सेन-शक्ति-ह्रास की प्रतिक्रिया व्यक्तिगत जीवन पर भी नैराश्य का अंधकार प्रगाढ़ ही करती जा रही थी। लोक-शक्ति सारे बंगाल में क्षीण एवं शौर्य-विहीन थी। ऐसी ही अवस्था के भीतर ईसा-बाद १४वीं शताब्दी में विद्यापति और चण्डीदास की अभिरुचि अपनी २ काव्य-प्रतिभा द्वारा समाज की इच्छाओं के विश्लेषण की ओर प्रधावित हुई और वे अपने गीति-काव्य में उस काल की मानुषी प्रवृत्तियों का प्रतिनिधित्व करने में सतर्क संलग्न हुए।

विद्यापति और चण्डीदास दोनों को जीवनकाल में ही पर्याप्त प्रसिद्धि प्राप्त हुई और दोनों की ही पदावली प्रेम-काव्य के उत्कृष्ट उदाहरण स्वीकृत किए गए। वस्तुतः दोनों के ही गेय पदों में मधुरिमा थी, कोमलता थी और मोहकता थी। सर्वोपरि प्रेम और भक्ति का जैसा अद्वितीय संमिश्रण उनकी पदावली में धार्मिक ऐतिह्य के साथ विद्यमान था वैसा हिन्दु-समाज के अन्य किसी भाषा-कवि की रचना में उस समय तक प्रस्तुत नहीं किया जा सका था। इस कारण समाज ने इन महाकवियों के पदों का हृदय से स्वागत किया और उनके द्वारा प्रचारित भावनाओं को जीवन की घड़ियों का अंग बनाते हुए उत्साह, शक्ति, हर्ष और विश्वास के साथ उनका पूरा समादर किया। वह मान पीछे भी समाज में बढ़ता ही गया और आने वाली सदियों में राधाकृष्ण-भक्ति के प्रचार को उससे विशेष सहायता प्राप्त हो सकी।

हिन्दु-समाज में वैष्णवीय वात्सल्य-काव्य का स्थान भी बहुत ऊंचा है, लेकिन वह महत्ता भी प्रेम-काव्य पर ही अधिक अवलम्बित दिखाई देती है। महाप्रभु श्री चैतन्य के राधा-कृष्ण-प्रसंग की दार्शनिक नींव इन प्रेम-काव्यों पर ही रखी गई और स्वीकार किया जाता है कि विद्यापति के पद श्री चैतन्य को बहुत ही प्रिय थे, इसीसे वह उन्हें अपनी कृष्ण-भक्ति के आध्यात्मिक विश्लेषण का आधार बनाने की ओर भी दत्तचित्त हुए। विद्यापति के पद-माधुर्य में महाप्रभु भी आत्मविभोर हो उठते थे, तब जन-साधारण पर उनकी अनिर्वचनीयता का स्थायी प्रभाव पड़ना स्वाभाविक ही है। रानी लखिमादेवी ही नहीं, पूरी मिथिला विद्यापति के पदों से पूर्णतः प्रभावित हुई और प्रभाव स्थायी रहा। उसी तरह चण्डीदास के गीतों ने भी जन-मत पर जादू का-सा असर किया। चण्डीदास पर्यटन कर जन-समूह के बीच जाते और स्वयं अपने पदों को गाया करते थे। ये ग्रामीण उस समय उनके पदों के लालित्य में आत्म-विस्मृत हो उठते थे और चण्डीदास की तन्मयता से प्रभावित सुनने वालों का हृदय-मयूर उस समय नाचने लगता था और प्रेम की

लौकिक धारा गंगा से भी अधिक पवित्र दिखाई देने लगती थी। अपूर्व दशा थी। एक ओर विद्यापति का तरल हृदय अनुमान कर रहा था—"तोहर सरिस एक तोहे माधव" और दूसरी ओर चण्डीदास की प्रेम-साधना-लय से प्रतिध्वनित हो रहा था—"प्रेमेर पीरिति, ये जन जानये, सेइ से पाइते पारे" और इसके प्रभाव में अपनी विवशता रोक सकने में सर्वथा असमर्थ नारी-नर राधा-कृष्ण की भक्ति में तन्मय गा रहे थे—"पीरित धरम, पीरित करम, पीरिते पराण दिव" भक्ति और प्रेम की ऐसी ही प्रबल धारा विद्यापति और चण्डीदास के धर्म-गीतों से प्रवाहित हुई और हिन्दु-समाज एक नये रंग में रंगता गया। इतिहास, साहित्य और धर्म की दृष्टि से वह अवस्था एक विचित्र परिवर्तन का मनोरंजक और पवित्र चित्र है।

स्थान और भाषा के भेद से इन महाकवियों में जो अन्तर आलोचकों द्वारा प्रस्तुत करने की चेष्टा की जाती है वह यथार्थतः काल और परिस्थिति के विचार से निरर्थक और महत्त्वरहित है। उन दिनों की भाषा न तो आज की हिन्दी थी और न आज की बंगला ही और न उस समय आज का बिहार था और न आज का बंगाल। विद्यापति का दरभंगा ज़िला उस समय बंगदेश से लगा हुआ सामाजिक व्यवहार में उससे अभिन्न-सा था और विद्या-केन्द्र होने के कारण मिथिला की ओर बंगाल अत्यधिक आकर्षित था। सेन-शासन-काल तक मिथिला राज्य गौड़-राज्य की शक्ति पर ही अधिक आश्रित रहा और गौड़ के शक्ति-हीन होने के अनन्तर ही वह स्वतन्त्र रूप से काशी की कोटि में खड़ा हो सका तो भी बंगाल व दरभंगा एक ही रहा। मध्ययुगीय मिथिला की "मैथिली" और बंग देश की "चलती भाषा" के रूप में विशेष अन्तर का भी अभाव था। बंगाल की साधु भाषा और बिहार की परिमार्जित हिन्दी उन दिनों निर्माण के क्रम में थीं, और अपभ्रंश, प्राकृत एवं संस्कृत का शिष्ट रूप जन-समुदाय की पहुँच के बाहर का विषय था। "विद्यापति कह सुनह मुरारि" और "हरिणी बोलइ ए हरिणा शुन तो" पदों में जितना अन्तर हमारे सामने है उतना ही अन्तर उस समय की "मैथिली" और "चलती भाषा" में था। मिथिला के लौकिक प्रेम-गीत और बंगाल के बाउल संगीत की भाषाओं में भी इससे अधिक भेद नहीं था। पारस्परिक प्रान्तीय व्यवहार भी इतना ही साम्य का था, मिथिला के पण्डित और कवियों की प्रसिद्धि बंगाल में दूर तक गहरा प्रभाव डाल रही थी, और विख्यात नवद्वीप तक उसकी पहुँच थी। यही कारण है कि विद्यापति की कोमल पदावली की ओर तत्कालीन बंगाल भी आकर्षित हुआ और प्रसिद्ध कवि गोविन्ददास को भी बंग-निवासियों द्वारा वैसा ही सम्मान दिया गया। धीरे-धीरे विद्यापति के अनेक पद क्रमशः बंगला के पदों में इस प्रकार मिश्रित होते गए कि वे कुछ काल बाद बंगला-साहित्य की ही निधि समझे जाने लगे, और वे, मिथिला में अप्राप्य होकर भी आज बंगला-साहित्य द्वारा ही सुरक्षित हैं। 'जेनम अवधि हम रूप नेहारिनु" का सुन्दर गीत बंगला में सुरक्षित ही नहीं अत्यन्त लोकप्रिय है, इस तरह के अन्यान्य पद भी हैं। यह प्रमाणित करता है कि विद्यापति के वैष्णव गीत मिथिला के बाहर बंगाल में भी प्रचलित हुए और उन्हें वहां ऐसा महत्त्व दिया गया कि अनेक समय तक बंगाल के वैष्णव 'अभिनव जयदेव' विद्यापति को बंगदेशीय कवि ही मानते रहे। विद्यापति के पदों को बंगाली रचना सिद्ध करने की चेष्टा भी कम नहीं की गयी और यह उसीका फल हुआ कि विद्यापति के पद ढूढ़-ढूढ़ कर संगृहीत और प्रकाशित किए गये। इससे यह भी प्रकट होता है कि विद्यापति की रचनाएँ बंगाल में पूर्णतः समादृत हुईं और उनके पदों के आध्यात्मिक

संकेत की ओर वैष्णवों का इतना ध्यान आकर्षित हुआ कि काव्य कीर्त्तन में भी उन्हें पूरा मान दिया गया। उनकी ऐसी प्रसिद्धि के ही कारण मिथिला व बंगला के कुछ कवियों ने 'विद्यापति' उपनाम का उपयोग भी किया, फिर बंगाल में 'चण्डीदास' उपनाम से भी कीर्त्ति कमाने की चेष्टा की गई, पर ईश्वर-प्रदत्त वह काव्य-प्रतिभा जो विद्यापति और चण्डीदास में स्वभाव से ही विद्यमान थी प्रयास द्वारा कब प्राप्त की जा सकती थी। फलतः मिथिला और बंगला का कोई भी अन्य कवि विद्यापति और चण्डीदास का समकक्ष नहीं बन सका और उनके पद अनूठे ही रहे।

हमें स्मरण रखना चाहिए कि यदि विद्यापति में एक ओर रस-धारा प्रवाहित कर ऐन्द्रिय व अतीन्द्रिय आनन्द उत्पन्न करने की योग्यता थी तो दूसरी ओर आध्यात्मिक संकेत एवं लोक-ज्ञान को ओर समाज को आकर्षित करने की शक्ति एवं लगन भी थी। उनके सामने वेद और लोक दोनों के प्रश्न थे और उन दोनों की मान-रक्षा के उत्तरदायित्व का अनुभव करते हुए ही विद्यापति काव्य-प्रतिभा-प्रदर्शन में अग्रसर रहे, उनकी संस्कृत की पुस्तकों से यह भी स्पष्ट है कि वह एक धर्मज्ञ, नीतिज्ञ, लोकविद् विद्वान् थे, वेद और स्मृति के ज्ञाता थे। उन्होंने वीर-काव्य की भी रचना की। किन्तु परम्परा-पालन के लिए ही, क्योंकि वीर-काव्य का समय तो पार हो चुका था और अब रीति, शृङ्गार और भक्ति की बारी थी। इस लिये, 'महाराज पण्डित' विद्यापति शृङ्गारिक महाकवि के रूप में ही जन-समक्ष आते हैं, और धीरे-धीरे उनके स्फुट प्रेम-पद ही उनके व्यापक सुयश का आधार बनने जाते हैं, और वैसी रचनाएँ आज तक मिथिला-वासियों की बहुमूल्य संपत्ति रही हैं। परन्तु चण्डीदास का व्यक्तित्व इस स्वरूप में प्रकाश में नहीं आता और न ही चण्डीदास की प्रतिभा ही वैसी बहुमुखी दिखाई देती, कारण कि चण्डीदास समाज की तत्कालीन अवस्था के विचक्षण निरीक्षक के रूप में काव्य-प्रदर्शन में प्रस्तुत नहीं हुए। वह एक कलाकार थे, उन्हें कला-प्रदर्शन करना था, उन्हें प्रचलित राधा-कृष्ण-कथा के अवलम्बन पर रसमय कविता करनी थी। वह प्रेमी थे, उनके हृदय-मन्दिर में प्रेम की मञ्जुल प्रतिमा विधि-विधान से ही स्थापित थी। पाण्डित्य की दृष्टि से प्रेम को साक्षात्कार करना विद्यापति का कार्य था, चण्डीदास के लिए वह "ब्रह्माण्ड व्यापिया" था। यदि विद्यापति को अपने पाण्डित्य-पूर्ण प्रेम की चेतना रानी लखिमा देवी के आश्रय से प्राप्त हुई तो चण्डीदास के हृदय में रामी रजकिनी से प्रेम-पूजा की बलवती प्रेरणा आप ही आप स्पन्दित हुई। अतः, माधुर्य, भावुकता और तन्मयता की प्रेम-भरी धारा में समाज को विलोडित करने की ओर ही चण्डीदास का मुख्य प्रयास रहा और उस में वह सफल भी अवश्य हुए, किन्तु "न जानि कतेक मधु श्याम-नामे आछे गो" का ज्ञान करते समय विद्यापति के हृदय में धर्म-भावना का उद्रेक सचमुच में उठा या नहीं यह कहना कठिन है। एतदर्थ, हमें उन परिस्थितियों पर विचार करना चाहिए जिनके कारण हिन्दु-समाज उस युग में न तो सुशासित था न सुशिक्षित ही, अपितु वह पौराणिक वा लौकिक विचारों की प्रतिद्वंदिता के कारण नैराश्य-भाव से व्याकुल शान्ति की तलाश में बेचैन था। चण्डीदास पर भी उस बेचैनी का असर अवश्य था, उस दशा के लिए अपने प्रेम-गीतों को उन्होंने नितान्त उपयुक्त समझा। उनके पदों में संतोष का संदेश था, निराश्रय की आशा थी, भक्त की तल्लीनता थी, अलौकिकता की कहानी थी और ईश्वर का सनातन प्रेम था। यद्यपि काव्य-मर्मज्ञता और रीति-शास्त्रानुसरण में चण्डीदास के पद जयदेव और विद्यापति के गीतों

की समानता के नहीं थे तथापि उनमें जन-साधारण की प्यास को शान्त कर सकने की पूरी क्षमता थी। उनमें तन्मयता ही नहीं सहजग्राह्य-आध्यात्मशिक्षा भी थी। ग्रामीण-जनता के लिए चण्डीदास का "पीरित-सागर" भय का स्थान नहीं था, शान्ति का साकेत था और पदों द्वारा वर्णित राधा-कृष्ण की मानवी-लीला निर्बल समाज का ऐक्य-शस्त्र था। बंग-समाज सहर्ष उस पर सर्वस्व न्योछावर करने लगा और विद्यापति के पद इस सम्मान के आगे पीछे पड़ गए। चण्डीदास की सहज लोक-प्रियता लोक-रंजन करती हुई वैष्णव-धर्म प्रचार में आगे निकल गई।

विद्यापति और चण्डीदास की रचनाओं के दृष्टिकोण में मूलतः एक विशेष अन्तर था। वह परम्परात्मक प्रवृत्ति के कारण उनमें आजीवन विद्यमान रहा और उनके पद भी उससे सर्वथा प्रभावग्रस्त होते रहे। विद्यापति ने संस्कृत में ग्यारह पुस्तकों की रचना की है, और उनकी ये साहित्यिक कृतियाँ उन्हें हमारे समक्ष एक पण्डित के ही रूप में प्रस्तुत करती हैं। उनका वंश भी ऐसा ही था, उनके कुल में सरस्वती की उपासना पहले से चली आती थी और उनके पूर्वज शास्त्रों में पूर्ण निष्णात थे, इसका प्रभाव विद्यापति पर पड़ना स्वाभाविक ही था। विद्यापति ने संस्कृत-साहित्य का अच्छा अध्ययन किया और वंश-परम्परा से आकर्षित संस्कृत-साहित्य-रचना में भी यत्नशील हुए, किन्तु संस्कृत का काव्य-शास्त्र-ज्ञान उनकी कवित्व-प्रतिभा को सोती हुई छोड़ देने वाली नहीं थी। परिणामस्वरूप अपने "सुपुरुष" की वैज्ञानिक चर्चा में लीन रहने पर भी विद्यापति का कवि-हृदय "अपरूप रूप मनोभव-मंगल" की कल्पना करने लग जाता था और कवि विद्यापति का तरल हृदय शृङ्गार की प्रस्तुत भावनाओं के बीच उद्विग्न हो गा उठता था—"लज्ज कित्तिम कपट तारून"। उस समय उनका शास्त्रीय-ज्ञान काव्योल्लास के आगे नीरस जान पड़ता होगा। विद्यापति स्वयं शैव थे किन्तु उन पर तत्कालीन वैष्णव धर्म के विकासात्मक स्वरूप का प्रभाव पड़ चुका था। अनुरक्ति आरम्भिक रूप में थी। भाषा-कवि आध्यात्मिकता का आरोप प्रेम-गीतों में भी किसी न किसी भाव से करने लगे थे। बंगाल में राधा-कृष्ण की भक्ति प्रचलित हो चुकी थी और मिथिला में 'स्मरो मूर्त्तिमान् कृष्णः" और लीलाराशि राधा के मिलन-विरह-विषयक गीत प्रेम से गाये जा रहे थे। यह काल-दशा थी। इससे प्रभावित विद्यापति भक्ति और कविता से विलग रहने में असमर्थ थे। अतः, व्यवहारविद् पण्डित विद्यापति भी काव्य-क्षेत्र में निष्कपट रूप से प्रविष्ट हुए। उन्होंने भी राधा-कृष्ण "नागर-नागरी" को अवलम्बन रूप में स्वीकार किया और उनका भी लक्ष्य हुआ, प्रेम-काव्य की सृष्टि। ऐसी रचना द्वारा उन्हें न तो कबीर के "पांच तत्त्व को बनो पींजरा जामें वस्तु विरानी" की असारता का अनुसरण करना था और न अध्यात्म की गम्भीर चिन्ता में लीन हो कर लौकिक आनन्द से संन्यास लेना था। उन्हें "विधि बड़ दारून बधए रसिक जन" की कसक मिटानी थी। उन्होंने जयदेव से सुना था—"नृत्यति युवतिजने न सहे सखि विरहिजनस्य दुरन्ते" और इसे देख कर ही कृतार्थ होना था। उस रसिक पण्डित का चंचल मन उस समय और भी व्याकुल हो उठा जब उसने देखा—"जनि सुमेरु ऊपर मिली अगल चांद विहुन सब तारा।" परन्तु "चिकुर गलय जल धारा" से "सखि हे माधव केलि विलसे" तक का रहस्योद्घाटन के उपरान्त भी मैथिल कोकिल को शान्ति नहीं हुई, नयन अतृप्त रहे और आशा "अ-पूरल" रहा। इस महाकवि की विद्वत्ताभरी बहुमुखी काव्य-प्रतिभा अनुभूति और अनुरक्ति-आरोप तक ही सीमित न रह कर अध्ययन, अनुभव और अनुश्रुत विषयों की अनेक नई-नई उद्भावनाओं की सृष्टि के चित्रण में तल्लीन रही और यही उसकी

काव्य-लगन की सच्ची प्रवृत्ति थी और चण्डीदास इससे सुदूर कल्पना-लोक के लोक-निर्भय के राही थे। चण्डीदास को न तो काव्य-शास्त्र का आश्रय लेना था और न संस्कृति की मर्यादा के भीतर काव्य-धारा को गहरा बनाना था। सहजिया-प्रेम के उपासक चण्डीदास स्वयं प्रेमी थे, प्रेमिका रामी के साक्षात् कृष्ण थे और उनके प्रेम-भरे पदों में प्रेम-रस की गम्भीर तीव्रता थी। काव्य-कला पारखी विद्यापति को प्रेम का अनुकरण करना था, प्रेम की शिक्षा ही देनी थी, लेकिन चण्डीदास को प्रेम-मार्ग की कठिनाइयों को हृदयंगम करते हुए प्रेमिका रामी के दामन से हेम-प्रभा का प्रकाश फैलाना था, चण्डीदास की राधा का व्रत था—"लोक हासि हाके, जाति याय याक, ततु न छाड़िया दिव"। यहां चण्डीदास की प्रेम-मादकता में प्रगाढ़ता थी और सुख-सम्भोग का परिपक्व परिचय था। प्रेम-वार्त्ता का समागम बंग-प्रान्त में चण्डीदास से भी बहुत पहले होने के कारण चण्डीदास के अन्तराल में प्रौढ़ प्रेम की व्याकुलता एवं गाम्भीर्य दृढ़रूपेण विद्यमान था। उस स्तर में भक्ति का आध्यात्मिक स्वरूप भी कुछ ऐसा जटिल हो चुका था कि लौकिक-पारलौकिक का भेद उलझन सा बोध होने लगा था। ऊब कर तभी महाकवि को व्यक्त करना पड़ा—"हाँसिते हाँसिते पीरित करलाम, काँपिते काँपिते जनम गेल।" किन्तु विद्यापति की रचनाओं के उल्लास, वेदना और विह्वलता का आकर्षण इस निराशा-गर्त्त की ओर नहीं जाता। वह मानव-हृदय को बरबस चमत्कृत कर सकता है। चण्डीदास की भाषा उतनी आलंकारिक नहीं होती हुई भी सहज में चुभ जाने वाले भावों से कभी कभी अधिक प्रभाव डालने लगती है और उस समय विद्यापति पीछे छूट जाते हैं। लेकिन मानव-हृदय की वेदना स्पष्ट शब्दों में व्यक्त करने के समय चण्डीदास व विद्यापति दोनों ही अपने प्रेम-विह्वल पदों द्वारा सुप्त मानवता को जगाने की एक-सी सजीव कल्पना करने वाले हैं। पर जहां क्षुब्ध हृदय की करुण दशा का चित्र सजीव हो पड़ता है, समाज-प्रताड़ित चण्डीदास का अनुभव उसकी व्यञ्जना में अत्यधिक प्रभावशाली हो उठता है। उसका वर्णन वास्तव में अद्वितीय है और वह सिद्ध कर सका है—"साबार ऊपर मानुष सत्य, ताहार ऊपरे नाइ।' पाण्डित्य के अभाव में भी चण्डीदास की ऐसी काव्य-सफलता सर्वथा श्लाघ्य है और उनका प्रेम-वेदना-वर्णन वास्तव में स्तुत्य है।

इस संबन्ध में कल्पना की जाती है कि कुछ बाह्य कारणों से प्रभावित होकर ही प्रेम-काव्य की रचना की गई और इन महाकवियों की रचनाएँ भी उन कारणों से अछूती नहीं रहीं। आधार-स्वरूप कहा जाता है कि मुसलमानों के 'ला इलाहीइल इल्लाह मुहम्मद रसूल अल्लाह" से एकेश्वरवाद का प्रभाव पड़ा और सूफी संप्रदाय के सिद्धान्तों से प्रेम-काव्य की शाखा विशेष रूप से प्रभावित हुई। लेकिन मुसलमानों के खुदावाद और सूफियों के सरल चित्त की मिश्रित भावनाओं का कोई विचार-योग्य प्रभाव भारतीय प्रेम-काव्य पर पड़ता हुआ प्रमाण-पुष्ट नहीं होता। हिन्दुओं का निर्गुणवाद खुदावाद से कहीं प्राचीन है और ईश्वर की एकता व निराकारता आर्य-जाति को प्राचीनतम ग्रन्थ वेदों से ही सिद्ध है। अतः सन्तों के निर्गुणवाद और भक्तों के निर्गुण-सगुण-रूपोपासना के प्रचलन के आधार के लिए हमें पहले भारतीय साहित्य का भी स्वाध्याय करना चाहिए। मुसलमानों के आक्रमण हमारी असभ्यावस्था में नहीं हुए, तब हमारी सामाजिक अवस्था क्षीण-सी अवश्य थी। इस कारण विजेताओं के आचार-विचार, विलासोल्लास मानाभिमान या भय-प्रेम-प्रलोभन से कोई नया परिवर्तन या विकास हमारे देश में नहीं हुआ। अपितु बाहरी मुसलमान ही हमारे प्रभाव से अत्यधिक प्रभावित हुए।

बाह्य आघातों का यह प्रभाव हमारे समाज पर अवश्य पड़ा कि हमारी क्षीण-शक्ति को सबल करने के लिए ही सन्त-सुधारकों ने समय-समय पर अपने उपदेशों द्वारा जनता में नवीन जीवन का संचार किया और समाज की हृत्-तन्त्री झंकृत की—और वैसे ही चेष्टा-काल में भक्तिमय प्रेम का काव्य, नव जीवन की एक सामाजिक लहर की भांति, उस समय की परिस्थितियों के बीच से पुरातन धर्मसूत्र के सिलसिले में ही प्रादुर्भूत और विकसित हुई। प्रेम मानव-हृदय की एक स्वाभाविक शक्ति है और आदिम-मानव से आज तक के जन-समुदाय पर इसका व्यापक प्रभाव सर्वत्र हो रहा है। उस पर भी ईश्वर-प्रेम की भावना मानव-मात्र की सुलभ संपत्ति है। सूफी-मत-प्रतिपादन से बहुत पहले ही भारतीय धर्म में ईश्वर-प्रेम का धार्मिक स्वरूप निश्चित-सा हो चुका था और नर-नारी के लौकिक प्रेम के सदृश ब्रह्म और जीव के मिलन सम्बन्धी विशद विवरण धर्म-ग्रन्थों में आ चुके थे। पवित्र बाइबल के "सोलोमन संगीत" में भी जीव और ब्रह्म के मिलन की ऐसी ही भावनाएँ चित्रित मिलती हैं। वैदिक साहित्य में भी जीव, परब्रह्म और मनुष्य के आध्यात्मिक मिलन व ईश्वर-प्रेम की मिली जुली व्याख्याएँ विद्यमान हैं और भाषा-काल में भक्तिपरायण आचार्यों ने अपने व्यवहार में उनका ही अनुसरण किया। इसलिए एकेश्वर वाद या ईश्वर-प्रेम, या जीवन-निस्सारता या ब्रह्म-मिलन की गम्भीर बातें भारतीय समाज के लिए नयी वस्तु कदापि न थी। साहित्य और संस्कृति के मर्मज्ञ विद्यापति तो इन बातों से पूर्णतः परिचित थे और इन्होंने अपनी ऐसी विद्वत्ता के आधार पर ही भक्ति-प्रचार में शृङ्गारपूर्ण पदों की रचना पर ध्यान दिया। वह जानते थे कि शृङ्गारमय भक्ति द्वारा वस्तुतः "रसो वै सः" का समुचित ज्ञान हो जाने पर भक्त तन्मय हो जाता है, "मन्मना" में तल्लीन हो जाने पर ही उसको अपनी खबर तक नहीं रहती, और तभी वह कैवल्य की भी कामना नहीं करता। विद्यापति की पदावली से सिद्ध है कि विद्यापति ने संस्कृत के काव्याचार्यों द्वारा निश्चित नियमों का पालन करते हुए ही अपने आश्रय-दाता राजा शिवसिंह और रानी लखिमा देवी के लौकिक एवं पारलौकिक आनन्द के लिए रस-राज शृङ्गार से राधा-कृष्ण का साथ कराया, और वस्तुस्थिति पर ध्यान रखते हुए ही राधा द्वारा व्यक्त किया—"कुल-कामिनी छलौं कुलटा भए गेलौं तिन कर बचन लो भाई। अपने कर हम मूँड़ मुड़ाएल कानु से प्रेम बढ़ाई॥"

ईसा-बाद २री सदी से ७वीं सदी तक का युग संस्कृत-साहित्य में शृङ्गार-काल के नाम से प्रसिद्ध है और उसके बाद ११वीं शताब्दी तक का समय काव्याचार्यों का युग है, जिसमें काव्य-शास्त्रों के निश्चित नियमों का विकास किया गया है। उस समय कविता को विशेष उत्कर्ष देने और उसे अनिर्वचनीय आनन्द का विधायक बनाने के लिए कुछ आचार्यों ने "केचिदाहुरेक एवं शृङ्गारो रस इति" कह कर शृङ्गार रस को ही एक रस स्वीकार किया और अन्य किसी रस को उन्होंने रस माना ही नहीं। भोजदेव ने शृङ्गार-प्रकाश में व्यक्त किया—"शृङ्गारमेव रसनाद्रसम् आमनामः", वीर, करुण और वात्सल्य रसों की प्रधानता में भी संस्कृत-कवि विलग-विलग अपनी प्रतिभा दिखा चुके थे, किन्तु मानों १२वीं से १८वीं शताब्दी के बिहार, बंगाल, मथुरा और आसाम के लिये उन रसों में कोई स्पष्ट चमत्कार व तात्कालिक अनिर्वचनीय आनन्द का प्रभाव शेष नहीं रह गया था। इसलिए शृंगार ही उसके लिए उपयुक्त समझा गया। वैष्णव विद्वानों ने भक्ति को रस कहा और इसके निमित्त शृंगार को ही प्रधानता दी। शृंगार रस ही भक्ति का शरीर माना गया। यद्यपि रस-कोविदों ने देवादि-विषयक रति और अर्जित

व्यभिचारी को भाव बतलाया था. परिपूर्णरसा भगवद्भक्ति उसका अपवाद समझी गयी और शृङ्गाररस के उपयोग में नायक-नायिका की आवश्यकता की पूर्ति भक्ति-जगत के कृष्ण, राधा और गोपियों द्वारा ही की जाने लगी और उस समय, भक्ति-प्रचार के नाते राधा-कृष्ण का शृङ्गारिक वर्णन किसी भी रूप में समाज द्वारा निर्दोष ही समझा गया। विद्यापति भी इसी परम्परा के पण्डित थे, अतएव उन्होंने अपने कोमल पदों की रचना पाण्डित्य और काव्य-शास्त्र की मर्यादा के भीतर ही की, उनकी प्रेम-भरी रचनाएँ सूफीमत की प्रेरणा या खुदावाद के प्रभाव के कारण उद्गीत नहीं हुईं। चण्डीदास के प्रेम-गीतों का आधार भी इसी तरह भारतीय विचार-धारा ही है, बाह्य-प्रभाव नहीं। उसका विश्लेषण हमें इसी रूप में करना चाहिए।

चण्डीदास के पदों में देह-धर्म और कुल-धर्म छोड़ कर भी कृष्ण-प्रेम करने की जो तीव्र मादकता हमें समाज-शीलता के विपरीत भी धर्म्मावरण में विद्यमान दिखाई देती है, उसके कारण हैं चण्डीदास की सहजिया-मतानुसरण की प्रवृत्ति और राधा-कृष्ण की मानुषी लीलाओं द्वारा भक्ति-प्रचार की तत्कालीन भिन्न २ चेष्टाएं। चण्डीदास वैष्णव न होकर काणुभट्ट के मतानुयायी थे। प्रसिद्ध है कि वह एक बौद्ध मंदिर के पुजारी भी रह चुके थे। चण्डीदास के समय में बंगाल पहले की प्रेम-रचनाओं से विमुक्त नहीं हो सका था और न बौद्ध मत के पराभव का कुप्रभाव ही उससे दूर हो सका था। राधा-कृष्ण के कीर्त्तन में हर-गौरी के श्रृंगारिक वर्णन के अनुकरण की भी प्रवृत्ति थी और तांत्रिकों की भी मनोवृत्तियां प्रान्त में इधर-उधर पूर्ववत् फैल रही थी। बंगाल का समाज प्रतीकहीन पूजा-पद्धति-विहीन, अशिक्षित, अनियंत्रित लोगों का एक असंगठित जन-समुदाय था। कई सदियों तक उसे वीरता-प्रदर्शन का कोई भी अवसर प्राप्त नहीं हो सका था और न मुसलमानों के आक्रमण-काल में सुधार का ही कोई यत्न किया जा सका था। शैव-सिद्धि, शाक्त-साधना तंत्राचार, शून्यवाद, नाथ-सम्प्रदाय, कनफटा मत आदि के पीछे दौड़ते हुए हिन्दु-समाज का ग्रन्थिमूल शिथिल पड़ गया था। बाहर से विधर्मी शासकों के उपद्रव होते तो प्रान्त के भीतर विवेक-हीन संकीर्ण संघातों का सामना करना पड़ता था। बौद्ध और हिन्दु दोनों ही दुःखी थे, वे भाग्य व देवता के भरोसे जीने को लाचार हो रहे थे। वैसी अवस्था में लौकिक-प्रेम-संगीत और भक्ति के प्रेम-काव्य से ही उन्हें कुछ शान्ति मिल सकी। बौद्ध सहजियावाद से इस समय नर-नारियों का इतना कल्याण अवश्य हुआ कि उनके मनो-जगत से नैराश्य और भय दूर करने का एक मात्र सोपान प्रेम उनके सामने साक्षात् हो सका। बहुत समय तक समाज बौद्ध-गान के सहारे ही जीवन में आनन्द का अवसर उपस्थित करता रहा, किन्तु वह आनन्द-रेखा भी उस समय क्षीण-सी दिखायी देने लगी जब समाज में बौद्ध घोर घृणा की दृष्टि से देखे जाने लगे। प्रान्त का सौभाग्य था कि उसी समय राधा-कृष्ण की उपासना का प्रचार बृंदावन से आरम्भ हो कर सारे बंगाल में फैलने लगा और बंगाल के सामने ईश्वर-भक्ति के अपनाने और मैत्रीमूलक युग को साक्षात् करने का एक नवीन अवसर उपस्थित हुआ। परन्तु परिवर्त्तन की प्रतिक्रियाएँ बन्द तो थीं नहीं, आचार-विचारों पर उनके प्रभाव जारी थे। भक्ति-प्रचार के साथ ही स्त्रीसत्ता के विशेष सम्मान और उनकेप्रति प्रगाढ़ प्रेम के प्रदर्शन की अनुभूतियां उसी क्रम में आप-से-आप काव्य का रूप धारण कर रही थीं। जयदेव ने कहा था—"विहरति हरिरिह सरसवसन्ते" विद्यापति ने मिथिला में ऐसे ही गाया—"विहरहिं नवल किशोर"। परन्तु प्रेममत्त चण्डीदास रामी के साथ स्वयं विचरण करते हुए उस कौतुक पर उत्सुकता के साथ सोचते ही रहे, उनकी विवशता दूर न हो सकी. नित्य सत्य निरञ्जन श्रीकृष्ण और ह्लादिनी शक्तिरूपिणी राधा के भावमय मिलन पर "युवती धरम कैछे रय" द्वारा सन्देह भी किया। पर लाचारी पराकाष्ठा को पहुँच चुकी थी और प्रेम-साधक चण्डीदास मर्यादा-सीमा को लांघ चुके थे। विद्यापति अपनी जगह पर इस दशा से बाहर रहे और इसका एक मुख्य कारण यही था कि वह वज्रयान के अनुयायी नहीं थे और उनकी प्रेम-वासना तृप्त और अतृप्त, मानुषी और ईश्वरीय

दोनों ही थी, उस पर परकीयादर्श का वह गहरा रंग नहीं चढ़ पाया था जो चण्डीदास की कविता को मादकतापूर्ण बना रहा था।

भागवतपुराण के "द्रविडेषु च भूरिशः" से विदित होता है कि द्रविड़ देश में वासुदेव-भक्तों की संख्या अधिक थी और तामिलवेद से सिद्ध होता है कि तामिल भाषा में वैष्णवभक्तों द्वारा विष्णु वा नारायण के गुणगान से ५वीं, ६ठी शताब्दी ईसा-बाद में वैष्णव धर्म का प्रचार किया गया। १२वीं सदी में निम्बार्क स्वामी कृष्ण-भक्ति की ओर आकर्षित हुए और वह कृष्ण-लीला की पवित्र भूमि वृन्दावन में जा बसे। उस प्रदेश में बौद्धमत का भी पर्याप्त प्रचार हुआ था। दूसरी सदी के आस पास में उधर अहीरों की संख्या बहुत अधिक थी। अन्य स्थानों की भांति वहां भी उनके बीच गोपाल कृष्ण का मान बहुत ज्यादा था। जान पड़ता है कि कृष्ण-भक्ति का प्रमुख स्थान होने के ही कारण निम्बार्क स्वामी उसीके प्रचार में दत्तचित्त हुए। ३री सदी से महायान के योगाचार-दर्शन से वज्रयान के भी सिद्धान्त पुष्ट किए जाने लगे। वज्रयान ने भिक्षु-भिक्षुणियों के अबाध मिलन एवं स्त्री-शक्ति-पूजा-भाव को विशेष बल पहुंचाया। तन्त्राचार भी उससे सम्बद्ध किया जाने लगा और प्रचार किया गया कि निर्वाण के निमित्त प्रज्ञा-पारमिता का उपभोग करना चाहिए और चूंकि प्रज्ञा पृथ्वी-तल पर प्रत्येक स्त्री में बसती है, स्त्रियों का भोग बिना किसी संकोच और भेद के करना चाहिए। ऊंच-नीच का भेद छोड़ कर किसी भी स्त्री के संसर्ग से साधक मुक्ति पा सकता है।" ऐसे प्रचार का सम्बन्ध संगीतियों से भी रहा और गौतमबुद्ध का भी पूरा सम्बन्ध संगीतियों से था। गुह्यसमाज द्वारा मांस-भक्षण, सुरापान और सुन्दरी-संग को ही अधिक प्रोत्साहन दिया गया और लग भग ७२९ ई० में वज्रयान सम्प्रदाय की भगवती लक्ष्मी-करा ने सर्ववर्ण-समुद्भूत स्त्रियों से प्रेम-भाव रखने की विशेष शिक्षा दी। उसके अनुयायी सहजवादी कहलाए और उनमें दारिकपाद व करुणाचल बहुत प्रभावशाली हुए। दारिकपाद बंगाली थे और ७५३ ई० के लगभग उन्होंने बंगला में अनेक गीत बनाए। उनकी शिष्या थी सहजयोगिनी चिन्तो और उसका शिष्य डोम्बी हेरुक, जिसका सम्बन्ध मगध से था। डोम्बी हेरुक द्वारा "कुल-सेवा" को प्रधानता दी गई।. कौलमत भ्रष्ट भोग-विलास की प्रवृत्ति का पोषक बना पंच-मकार साधना के सोपान समझे गए। इस चिन्तनीय सामाजिक विपर्यय का आघात हिन्दुओं के ब्राह्मण-धर्म पर भी अवश्य हुआ, किन्तु वैष्णव आचार्य पराजित नहीं हुए। उन्होंने "धर्म संस्थापनार्थाय" का स्मरण किया। तंत्र-मन्त्र और बौद्धाचार बराबर भ्रष्ट स्थिति को प्राप्त होता गया और उधर वैष्णवमत राधा-कृष्ण की लीलाओं के कीर्तन का भक्त पथिक बनता रहा। बौद्धमत की प्रधानता के स्थान पर भक्तिवाद के केन्द्र बनने लगे। यह निर्विवाद है कि दरभंगा इन घटनाओं के आवर्त्त के समीप था, परन्तु भीतर नहीं। बंगाल ही उनका लीला-क्षेत्र रहा। इस विचार से उनके समाज पर भी वैसा ही प्रभाव पड़ता गया और विद्यापति एवं चण्डीदास की पदावली में भी वैसा ही भाव दर्शित किया जा सका। अन्त में भक्तिवाद बौद्धमत के अवशेष को अदृश्य कर ही शान्त हुआ। इस सम्बन्ध में यह भी ध्यान देने योग्य है कि विद्यापति और चण्डीदास के पद बीच की ही दशा में समाज के सामने आए। १४वीं सदी में भक्ति-वाद बंगाल में प्रबल नहीं हो सका था। उस समय परिवर्तन-चक्र क्रमशील था, धारणाओं की लहरें उठती थीं, और नष्ट हो जाती थीं। विद्यापति और चण्डीदास दोनों ही उस काल-चक्र के श्रद्धालु पुजारी थे। शैव विद्यापति आजीवन आश्चर्य करते रहे—"माधव अपरुष तोहर सनेह है" और वज्रयानी चण्डीदास समझाने में यत्नशील रहे—"रजकिनि-प्रेम, विकसित हेम, द्विज चण्डीदास कय गो" काल-चक्र आदेश करता था—"बढ़ते चलो"। फलतः दोनों ही महाकवि काव्य-रचना में क्रियाशील रहे। यद्यपि एक बिपसी ग्राम की ओर और दूसरा नवद्वीप के पार्श्ववर्त्ती प्रदेश में, किन्तु दोनों का विषय रहा वैष्णवमत का समाज, राधा-कृष्ण का निष्करुण अनुराग जिसका वर्णन ही शान्तिदायी था और जिस शान्ति के

लिए मानव-समाज सनातन से अशान्त ही रहा है। उस अपूर्व प्रेम के लिए विद्यापति ने कहा—"टुटइत नहिं टुट प्रेम अद्‌भूत" और चण्डीदास ने भी स्वीकार किया—"पीरित साधन बड़ह कठिन।" वह प्रेम सुलझा भी कब और किससे! रक्त-मांस का दुर्बल मानव हृदय उसे अनुभव और तल्लीनता द्वारा ही समझ सकता है और उसके गम्भीर अध्यात्म का आनन्द उठा सकता है। विद्यापति और चण्डीदास की पदावली उसी योग्यता की है और उसकी रचना में अनिर्वचनीयता का कदापि तनिक भी अभाव नहीं क्योंकि सचमुच में वह वैसी ही कविता है जो सुनते ही हृदय में उतर आती है, चाहे भाव लौकिक माना जाय या अलौकिक। महाकवियों की सफलता और महत्ता का यही प्रमाण है।

आधुनिक हिन्दी कविता के "वाद"

लेखक—विनयमोहन शर्मा, नागपुर

आधुनिक हिन्दी-कविता का प्रारम्भ भारतेन्दु युग से माना जाता है और यह युग सन् १८६५ से १९०० तक अविच्छिन्न रहता है। भारतेन्दु बाबू हरिश्चन्द्र के पूर्व हिन्दी कविता रीतिकालीन परम्पराओं से बँधी हुई थी। राधा-कृष्ण की लीलाओं के ओट में उत्तान शृङ्गार सवैयों, कवित्तों और रोला छन्दों के चौखटों में छटपटाया करता था। उस कविता का जीवन से लगाव न रह गया था। भारतेन्दु के साहित्य-क्षेत्र में अवतीर्ण होते ही कविता अपने युग को उच्छ्वासित करने लगी। हिन्दी कविता में प्रथम बार 'यथार्थवाद'[1] ने प्रवेश किया। जिन परिस्थितियों ने हरिश्चन्द्रयुग को अपने चारों ओर देखने को विवश किया वे सचमुच विस्फोटक थीं। देश विदेशी शासन के शिकंजे में बुरी तरह जकड़ा हुआ था। "राजनीतिक के अतिरिक्त आर्थिक कठिनाइयाँ (अकाल आदि के कारण) जोर के साथ सारे देश में बढ़ गई थीं। थोड़े लोगों के आलस्य और स्वार्थ के कारण बहुतों की शारीरिक यातनाएँ बढ़ रही थीं और इससे लोगों की बढ़ती हुई अशान्ति संकट की सीमा तक बड़ी तेजी से जा रही थी"[2]।

"किसान पीड़ित थे। उनके कष्टों का वर्णन मि. ह्यूम ने सर आकलेण्ड कोलविन को लिखे अपने पत्र में किया है। उनकी (कुछ) गहरी शिकायतें यह थीं—(अ) दीवानी अदालतें असुविधाजनक और खर्चीली हैं, (आ) पुलिस घूसखोर और बड़ी ज्यादिती करती है, (इ) तरीका लगान सख्त है, (ई) शस्त्र और जंगल कानून का अमल चुभने वाला है।"[3] यह उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के ७० से लेकर ८० वर्ष के बीच की स्थिति है। हिन्दी के कवि अपनी आंखों के सामने होनेवाले मौन तथा मुखर चीत्कार से अप्रभावित न रह सके। सन् १८५७ के विप्लव को अंग्रेज़ों ने बड़ी निर्दयता के साथ कुचल दिया था। इसलिये कवियों ने यद्यपि अपने देश की दशा का यथार्थ चित्र खींचने का उपक्रम किया फिर भी राज-भक्ति का क्षीण स्वर भी उन्होंने यदा कदा निकाला है। इसका यह आशय नहीं कि वे संकट नहीं मोल लेना चाहते थे। हरिश्चन्द्र को अपने स्वतन्त्र विचारों के लिये कभी कभी तत्कालीन शासन-वर्ग का कोप भाजन बनना पड़ा था पर उस युग में मुगल शासन की धार्मिक असहिष्णुता से राहत मिलने के कारण जनता का एक हिस्सा ऐसा अवश्य था जो सचमुच अंग्रेजी राज्य को ईश्वर की कृपा समझता था।

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१. प्रकृत वस्तु के हूबहू चित्रण का नाम यथार्थवाद कहलाता है। इसकी उत्पत्ति अरस्तू की कला की इस व्याख्या से हुई है कि वह केवल अनुकृति 'imitation' है। मनुष्य जो कुछ अपने चारों ओर देखता है उसका चित्रण यथार्थवाद के अन्तर्गत आता है। सृष्टि के बाह्य रूप को ही नहीं, हृदय की विभिन्न अनुभूतियों को भी हम साहित्य में उतारते हैं और साहित्य का यह रूप भी यथार्थवाद ही है। यहां यथार्थवाद युग-प्रवृत्तियों के वर्णन के अर्थ में प्रयुक्त हुआ है।

२. "कांग्रेस का इतिहास" भाग १—पृ. ६

३. वही पृ. ६–७

प्रारम्भ में अंग्रेजों ने राजनीति के विषय को छोड़ कर शान्ति व्यवस्था स्थापित करने के लिये भरसक प्रयत्न किया भी था। पुलिस के अत्याचार और मंहगे न्याय के होते हुए भी जनता पहिले के शासन से अपने को अपेक्षाकृत सुखी समझती थी (यहां उस जनता की ओर मेरा संकेत है जो 'कोउ नृप होय हमें का हानी' वाली वृत्ति रखती है) तो हरिश्चन्द्र-युग की कविता में यथार्थवाद जनता की दोनों मनोवृत्तियों को प्रतिबिम्बित करता है—उसमें अंग्रेजी राज्य के प्रति संतोष[४] और असंतोष[५] दोनों दिखाई देते हैं। जनमत के शासन के अनुकूल-प्रतिकूल होने का कारण यह भी है कि उसने उस समय लार्ड लिटन का दमनकारी कठोर शासन देखा और उसके बाद घावों में मरहम लगाने वाला लार्ड रिपन का सहानुभूति पूर्ण शासन का सुख भी अनुभव किया। लार्ड रिपन उस युग का बड़ा लोकप्रिय गवर्नर जनरल था। हरिश्चन्द्र-काल में ही देश के नवयुवकों का पाश्चात्य सभ्यता और साहित्य से सम्पर्क बढ़ा तथा कांग्रेस, थियासाफिकल सोसाइटी, प्रार्थनासमाज, आर्यसमाज ब्रह्मसमाज आदि संस्थाओं की स्थापना से देश में राजनीतिक, सामाजिक और धार्मिक जागृति की लहर भी दौड़ गई। कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि "भारत में नव जागरण का श्रेय अंग्रेज जाति को है। वस्तुतः यह एक मनोरंजक विरोधाभास है कि प्राच्य विद्याविशारद, साहित्य-स्रष्टा, पत्रकार, मिशनरी और राज-नेता महानुभावों ने नवीन विश्व-सभ्यता और संस्कृति को भारत में लाने में महत्त्वपूर्ण योग दिया।"[६] पर हम इस मत से पूर्ण रूप से सहमत नहीं हैं। देश में आर्यसमाज, ब्रह्मसमाज आदि के आन्दोलन जिन भावी द्रष्टा भारतीय साधकों ने चलाये हैं उनका देश के नव जागरण में प्रमुख स्थान है। तिलक-केस के जज चिरोल ने तो स्पष्ट स्वीकार किया है कि देश में राष्ट्रीय चेतना का मूल भारतीय पुनरुत्थान के जातीय-धार्मिक आन्दोलनों में निहित है।[७]

समाज सुधार को प्रेरणा देने वाले कवियों में हरिश्चन्द्र और प्रेमधन के नाम अग्रणी हैं। स्त्री-शिक्षा, बाल विवाह विरोध, विधवा विवाह, छुआ-छूत निवारण आदि विचारों के ये पोषक थे क्योंकि युग की गतिशील चेतना में इन्हीं का प्राबल्य था। पाश्चात्य संस्कारों की आंधी से देश को बचाने की चेष्टा भी इस युग में पायी जाती है। आधुनिक हिन्दी कविता के इस काल

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४. प्रिंस ऑफ वेल्स के स्वागत में प्रेमधन—

"स्वागत ! स्वागत ! आप हित भावी भारत भूप।
बड़े भाग सों पाइयत ऐसे अतिथि अनूप॥
पलक पांवड़े आप हित जोपें देहिं बिछाय।
लोचन जल पद जुगल तुव धौवैं हिय हरषाय॥" (प्रेमधन-सर्वस्व, पृ. ३८१)

"जयति धर्म सब देश जय, भारत-भूमि नरेश
जयति राज-राजेश्वरी जय जय जय परमेश" —अम्बिकादत्त व्यास

५. "सब धन ढोयो जात विलायत रह्यो दलिद्दर छाई
अन्न-वस्त्र कहँ सब जन तरसें होरी कहा सोहाई" —प्रतापनारायण

६. सुधीन्द्र—"हिन्दी कविता में युगान्तर" पृ. ३

७. "पढ़े जनम भर फारसी, छोड़ वेद मारग दियो ;
हा हा हा विधि वाम ने सर्वनाश भारत कियो।" —राधाचरण गोस्वामी

में चूंकि अपने समय की पूरी छाप है, इसलिये हम इसमें पहिली बार 'यथार्थवाद' के दर्शन करते हैं, यह बात हम ऊपर कह आये हैं।

सन् १६०० से हिन्दी कविता में दूसरे युग का प्रारम्भ हो जाता है। यह लग भग १६२० तक रहता है। इन दो दशकों में पं० महावीरप्रसाद द्विवेदी ने डा० जानसन की तरह हिन्दी जगत् पर आधिपत्य जमा रखा था। उन्होंने कविता की भाषा को ब्रजभाषा से खड़ी बोली के रूप में परिवर्तित कर एक क्रान्ति मचा दी थी। उनका विश्वास था कि हिन्दी को राष्ट्र-भाषा बनाने के लिये यह आवश्यक है कि उसकी गद्य और पद्य-भाषा में भिन्नता नहीं होनी चाहिये। उन्होंने कविता में शृङ्गार-भावनाओं के क्रीडा-विलास को भी प्रोत्साहित नहीं किया। वे जाति को सबल बनाने की दृष्टि से नीति और सदाचार पर अधिक आग्रह प्रदर्शित करते थे। अतः उनका काल "आदर्शवाद" की धारा को प्रवाहित करने वाला 'युग' कहा जाने लगा। "इस उत्थान के कवि मानवतावादी (Humanitarian Idealist) हैं। इनकी दृष्टि अत्यन्त व्यापक तथा उदार है और ये सत्य न्याय के समर्थक हैं। ये प्रत्येक व्यक्ति के लिये समान और न्यायोचित व्यवहार चाहते हैं। वे सामाजिक अत्याचार, राजनीतिक दासता तथा धार्मिक साम्प्रदायिकता की समान रूप से कड़ी आलोचना करते हैं।"[८] आदर्शवादी साहित्य जीवन की अनुकृति से सन्तुष्ट नहीं होता, वह जीवन को दिशा-विशेष की ओर उन्मुख करना चाहता है। वह 'जीवन क्या है ?' की अपेक्षा 'जीवन क्या होना चाहिये ?' की ओर निर्देश करता है। द्विवेदी-युग जनता को युग-धर्म की प्रेरणा देता है। इस समय तक देश की महत्त्वाकांक्षा को प्रगट करने वाली संस्था कांग्रेस धीरे-धीरे प्रबल हो गई थी। भारत के गवर्नर जनरलों का पहिले उसके प्रति जो सहानुभूति पूर्ण रुख था वह अब बदल गया था। वह अब शत्रु-संस्था समझी जाने लगी थी और उसमें कार्य करने वालों तथा उससे सहानुभूति रखने वालों पर शासन की कड़ी दृष्टि रहने लगी थी (उदाहरणार्थ—इलाहाबाद के एक सज्जन को वहां के जिला मेजिस्ट्रेट की इच्छा के विरुद्ध मद्रास-कांग्रेस अधिवेशन में सम्मिलित होने के अपराध में बीस हजार रुपये की जमानत देनी पड़ी थी)। लार्ड कर्जन के दमनकारी कानून से भारतियों का स्वाभिमान हिल गया। बंग-भंग ने प्रज्वलित अग्नि में घृत का कार्य किया। बंगाली दो प्रान्तों में नहीं बँटना चाहते थे। इसलिये विरोध-प्रदर्शन के लिये जुलूस, सभाएँ, हड़तालें आदि आये दिन की घटनाएँ हो गईं। पूर्वी बंगाल के गवर्नर ने नागरिकों को धमकी दी कि संभव है उसे खून खराबी करनी पड़े। सरकार की धमकियों का विपरीत प्रभाव पड़ा। बंग-भंग का आन्दोलन बंगाल का ही नहीं, देश का आन्दोलन बन गया। पंजाब में 'केनाल कालोनाइज़ेशन बिल' से वहां की जनता भी भड़क गई। उसी सिलसिले में लाला लाजपतराय और अजीतसिंह को देश निकाले का दण्ड दिया गया। विद्यार्थियों पर राजनीति में भाग न लेने की सख्ती की गई। सन् १९०० तक देश में स्वदेशी, बहिष्कार, राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा आदि का आन्दोलन जोरों से चलने लगा। बंगाल में विपिनचन्द्र पाल और अरविन्द घोष के नेतृत्व में क्रान्ति की ज्वाला सुलगने लगी। १६०८ में मुजफ्फरपुर में श्रीमती केनेडी और कुमारी केनेडी पर बम फेंकने के अभियोग में १८ वर्षीय खुदीराम बोस को

८. के. ना. शुक्ल—"आधुनिक काव्य-धारा" पृ. १२२

फाँसी की सज़ा दी। पूना के लोकमान्य तिलक को राजद्रोह में देश निकाला दिया गया। लंदन में सर वायली और नासिक में जेक्सन की हत्या की गई। भारतीय तारुण्य विदेशी सत्ता को उखाड़ फेंकने के लिये बावला हो गया। जगह जगह क्रान्तिकारी षड्यन्त्र होने लगे। इसी बीच १९१४ में प्रथम महायुद्ध की ज्वाला भड़क उठी। जर्मनी के राजा कैसर की सेनाएँ फ्रांस में धँस कर अंग्रेजों और मित्र राष्ट्रों को संकट में डाल चुकी थी। इसी बीच भारतीय सेनाएं वहां पहुंच गईं और उन्होंने मित्र राष्ट्रों के सम्मान की रक्षा की। भारतियों की इस सहायता के प्रति कृतज्ञ होने के बजाय युद्ध समाप्त होने पर देश में दमनकारी कानूनों की रचना हुई। कांग्रेसी नेताओं ने ऐसे कानूनों का विरोध किया। पंजाब का लेफ्टिनेन्ट गवर्नर ओडायर कांग्रेस की शक्ति को रौंद देना चाहता था। परिणामतः स्थान स्थान पर लूट मार और मार काट की घटनाएं हुईं। अमृतसर में दमनकारी कानून के विरोध में सार्वजनिक सभा करने वाली जनता गोलियों से भून दी गई। डायर की इस पशु-कृत्य के लिये शासकों ने प्रशंसा की—उसे बधाई दी। गांधी जी के ऐतिहासिक असहयोग आन्दोलन की यह भूमि थी। महायुद्ध में टर्की की दुर्दशा और खिलाफत के संकट में पड़ जाने के कारण देश में हिन्दू-मुसलमान में भी मेल हो गया था। इस सम्बन्ध में सरकार की १९१९ की शासन रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है—"सब लोग उत्तेजित थे। पर एक बात बड़े मार्के की दिखाई पड़ती थी और यह थी हिन्दू-मुस्लिम भ्रातृ-भाव। हिन्दू-मुसलमान एक दूसरे के हाथ से खुलमखुला पानी लेते देते थे। एक जगह तो एक मसजिद के इमाम पर खड़े होकर हिन्दू नेताओं को बोलने भी दिया गया था।"[९] धार्मिक, सामाजिक क्षेत्र में आर्य-समाज और ब्रह्मसमाज की विचार-धाराओं के साथ-साथ विवेकानन्द के वेदान्त-विचारों का भी पर्याप्त प्रचार हुआ। भारतीय अतीत-संस्कृति के प्रति जनता की श्रद्धा जागृत हुई और बौद्धिकता भी।

इस काल की कविता में देश की राजकीय और धार्मिक प्रवृत्तियों का स्पष्ट स्वर सुन पड़ा। उसकी आदर्शवादिता भावी के निर्माण में अधिक पायी गई। वह स्वर्णिम अतीत का गौरव गा कर प्रसन्न ही नहीं होती थी, वर्तमान दयनीय दशा पर आंसू ही नहीं बहाती थी, वह भविष्य की मनोरम झांकी भी दिखलाती थी और इसीसे उसकी आदर्शवादिता सार्थक होती है

देश की राजनीतिक चेतना की मुक्तकंठ[१०] से घोषणा इस युग का कवि करता है और उसकी धार्मिक अभिव्यक्ति स्थूल से सूक्ष्म हो जाती है। उसे सृष्टि के अणु अणु में तथा मानव के लोकहितकारी व्यापारों में परमात्मा के दर्शन होते हैं।[११] समाज में रूढ़ियों के प्रति

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९. "मन्दिर में हो चाँद चमकता, मस्जिद में मुरली की तान।
हिन्दू-मुस्लिम दोनों भाई, आओ हिलमिल हों कुर्बान॥" —'भारतीय आत्मा'

१०. "खुला यह कहते हैं आज हम स्वराज्य लेंगे, स्वराज्य लेंगे।
करेंगे न आवाज अब न मध्यम, स्वराज्य लेंगे, स्वराज्य लेंगे।"
"हिन्दी कविता में युगान्तर" पृ. २७६

११. "कहीं न कोई शासक होता और न उसका काम,
होता नहीं भले ही तू भी रहता केवल नाम।

उत्तरोत्तर तिरस्कार बढ़ता जाता है। संस्कृत, अंग्रेजी, बंगला आदि साहित्य के अध्ययन की अभिरुचि दृढ होती जाती है। इस युग की हिन्दी कविता अपने भाव तथा विभाव पक्षों में इनसे स्वभावतः प्रभावित हुई। देश में जो स्वतन्त्रता की आंधी बही उसने इस युग की कविता में रोमेंटिक प्रवृत्ति अथवा स्वच्छन्दतावाद को भी जन्म दिया। .इसके उन्नायक श्रीधर पाठक माने जाते हैं। यह वाद "आवेश, आतुरता, आध्यात्मिकता, कुतूहल, क्षोभ, प्रगति, स्वातन्त्र्य, प्रायोगिकता, उत्तेजकता और शक्ति-भावना में व्यक्त होता है।' (जेम्स) "रोमेंटिक कवि सब कुछ गवारा कर सकता है पर स्थूल जगत् की राह जो एक सूक्ष्म तत्त्व की निरन्तर गति प्रवाहित हो रही है उसके अभाव को वह सहन नहीं कर सकता।.........वह प्रकृत वस्तु में अति-प्राकृत्य देखता है, इस स्थूल बाह्य नाम रूपान्तर जगत् में वह सूक्ष्म तत्त्व का दर्शन करता रहता है और इसी सूक्ष्म और रहस्यमय तत्त्व को प्रकाशित करने के लिये उसकी लेखनी चंचल हो उठती है।"[१२] कृत्रिमता के बन्धन कवि को अखर उठते हैं और तभी वह स्वच्छन्द गति से चलने लगता है। स्वच्छन्दतावाद के मूल में यही प्रवृत्ति है। वह यथार्थवाद का विरोधी नहीं है, आदर्शवाद से भी उसका संघर्ष नहीं है पर वह उसके समान केवल भविष्य की सुन्दर कल्पना से सन्तुष्ट नहीं होता। वह विषय और अभिव्यक्ति सभी में अभिनवता की खोज करता है तथा 'पुरानेपन' से विरसता प्रदर्शित करता है। रोमेंटिक कविता इसी लिए नए नए विषयों की खोज करती है क्योंकि पुराने विषयों और छन्दों से कब तक आनन्दरस की सृष्टि की जा सकती है?

आंग्ल-साहित्य में रोमेंटिसिज़्म का पुनरुत्थान वर्डस्वर्थ और कॉलरिज की Lyrical Ballads के प्रकाशन से होता है। इन कवियों को यूरप के फ्रांस की जन-क्रान्ति रूसो के साथ कैंट और हेगल के दार्शनिक विचारों तथा 'पुनर्जागरण' और 'सुधार'—(Renaissance and Reformation) के आन्दोलनों ने भी प्रभावित किया। उनके काव्य के दो मुख्य सूत्र थे—(१) प्रकृति का आध्यात्मीकरण और (२) समाज-जीवन में मानवता का विकास। यह बात नहीं है कि वर्डस्वर्थ और कॉलरिज के पूर्व अंग्रेजी कविता में ये तत्त्व नहीं थे पर 'काव्य के वाद' के रूप में इन्हीं ने इन्हें प्रचलित किया। हिन्दी में रोमेंटिसिज़्म के प्रचलन के लिये देश की राजकीय, धार्मिक और सामाजिक परिस्थिति सहायक हुई। विदेशी शासकों की दमनकारी नीति ने कवियों को बन्धनों के प्रति घृणा से भर दिया। वे राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में स्वाधीन नहीं हो सकते थे। अत: उन्होंने अपनी स्वच्छन्दता को साहित्य के क्षेत्र में व्यक्त किया। द्विवेदी काल में श्रीधर पाठक ने जिस प्रवृत्ति को व्यक्त किया, वह आगे आने वाले छायावाद-रहस्यवाद-युग में खूब उभर कर सामने आई। हम आचार्य रामचन्द्र शुक्ल के इस मत से सहमत नहीं है कि श्रीधर पाठक द्वारा निरूपित 'सच्ची और स्वाभाविक स्वच्छन्दता का मार्ग हमारे काव्य-क्षेत्र के बीच चलने न पाया..... और "द्विवेदी की इतिवृत्तात्मक पद्य-रचनाओं की जो प्रतिक्रिया उत्पन्न हुई वह स्वाभाविक स्वच्छन्दता की ओर न बढ़ने पाई।"[१३]

दया धर्म होता बस घर में जिस पर तेरा प्यार,
छोटा-सा घर-आंगन होता, इतना ही परिवार॥" —मैथिलीशरण गुप्त

१२. डा. देवराज—"रोमेंटिक साहित्य शास्त्र" पृ. १८०

१३. हिन्दी साहित्य का इतिहास पृ. ६०२

हिन्दी में श्रीधर पाठक की कविताओं में स्वच्छन्दतावाद (Romanticism) के जो लक्षण दिखलाई देते हैं, उसमें उन्होंने प्रकृति का मानवीकरण किया, उसमें दैवी संकेत अनुभव किया तथा नए नए छन्दों की खोज की। इस तरह वस्तु और कला में अभिनवता प्रदर्शित की। 'काश्मीर-सुषमा' में प्रकृति को आलम्बन रूप में स्वीकार कर उसका मनोहारी चित्रण किया।

"प्रकृति इहाँ एकान्त बैठि निज रूप संवारति।
पल-पल पलटति भेष छनिक छवि छिन छिन धारति॥"

जैसी पंक्तियां रीतिकालीन और हरिश्चन्द्रकालीन वस्तुवर्णन-परम्परा से निश्चय पृथक् हैं, प्रकृति मानवी के रूप में खड़ी हो हमें मुग्ध बनाती है। इसी तरह 'स्वर्गीय बीणा' में परोक्ष ध्वनि भी स्वच्छन्दतावाद की सूचना दे रही है—

"कहीं पें स्वर्गीय कोई बाला, सुमंजु वीणा बजा रही है।
सुरों के संगीत की सी कैसी सुरीली गुंजार आ रही है॥"
... ...
"भरे गगन में हैं जितने तारे हुए हैं मदमस्त गत पै सारे।
समस्त ब्रह्माण्ड भर को मानों दो उँगलियों पर नचा रहे हैं॥"

श्रीधर पाठक की प्रकृति-प्रेम की परम्परा द्विवेदी-युग में भी मुकुटधर पाण्डे, लोचनप्रसाद पांडे आदि कवियों में भी थोड़ी बहुत अनवरत दिखलाई देती है पर उसमें संवेदना की प्रबलता अधिक नहीं है। द्विवेदी-युग की काव्य की आत्मा में आदर्शवाद अधिक रहा है जो नीतिमत्ता पर आधारित रहा है। स्वच्छन्दतावाद द्विवेदी-युग में प्रारम्भ होकर भी उसके नीतिवाद या आदर्शवाद का विरोधी नहीं रहा—प्रकृति का सहज ललित रूप-चित्रण, उसका मानवी और दैवीकरण सर्वथा युग-धारा के अनुकूल है। द्विवेदी जी के सरस्वती-सम्पादन भार से मुक्त होने के बाद में हिन्दी कविता में नए वाद का प्रचलन हुआ। यह वाद छायावाद के नाम से पहिचाने जाने लगा पर इसकी अनेक शाखायें चल पड़ीं जो रहस्यवाद, प्रतीकवाद, दातावाद आदि कहलाने लगीं। ये वाद सन् १९२० से १९३५ तक सचरित होते रहे। ऊपर कहा जा चुका है कि द्विवेदी जी की इतिवृत्तात्मक-उपदेश परक रचनाओं की शुष्कता से जनता ऊब उठी थी। अतः वह कविता का नया रूप देखना चाहती थी, ऐसा रूप जो उसके हृदय को स्पर्श कर सके, उसे रस से सिक्त बना सके। इस समय तरुण अंग्रेजी साहित्य का विशेषकर रोमेंटिक स्कूल के कवि—वर्ड्सवर्थ, शैली, कीट्स, कॉलरिज तथा बंगला के कवि विशेषकर रवीन्द्रनाथ का अध्ययन कर रहे थे। उन्होंने तुलना की दृष्टि से अपने तत्कालीन काव्य को भी देखा। स्वभावतः उनमें उसे नूतनता प्रदान करने की उत्कण्ठा भी जागृत हुई। श्रीधर पाठक 'स्वच्छन्दतावाद' का प्रवेश करा ही चुके थे। स्वच्छन्दतावाद के अधिकांश लक्षण छायावाद में आकर विकसित हुए। अतः हम छायावाद को स्वच्छन्दतावाद का ही परिवर्तित रूप मानते हैं। छायावाद की प्रवृत्तियां हैं—(१) आत्माभिव्यञ्जना (Subjectivity), (२) नूतन छन्द विधान और छन्द मुक्तता भी, (३) प्रकृति का मानवीकरण, (४) प्रतीक-लक्षणा, व्यंजना प्रयोग, (५) विश्वबन्धुत्व (मानववाद)। स्वच्छन्दवाद की रचना में भी ये तत्व पाए जाते हैं। पर इन आत्मपरक रचनाओं का 'छायावाद' नाम कैसे पड़ा? इस पर हिन्दी समीक्षकों और कवियों में पर्याप्त

विवाद है। आचार्य रामचन्द्र शुक्ल अपने हिन्दी साहित्य के इतिहास (पृ. ६५१) में लिखते हैं—"ईसाई संतों के छायाभास (Phantasmata) तथा योरोपीय नाट्य-क्षेत्र में प्रवर्तित आध्यात्मिक प्रतीकवाद (Symbolism) के अनुकरण पर रची जाने के कारण बंगाल में ऐसी कविताएँ 'छायावाद' कही जाने लगी थीं।" शुक्ल जी के मत से छायावाद बंगला से आया और उसमें चूंकि 'अंग्रेजी और बंगला की पदावली का ज्यों का त्यों अनुवाद' पाया जाता है। इसलिए उसमें स्वतन्त्र उद्भावना सूचित नहीं होती। पर ऐसा क्यों हुआ? इसकी ओर उन्होंने संकेत नहीं किया। बात यह है कि हिन्दी कवियों का अंग्रेजी और बंगला का अध्ययन अभिनव था। वे गद्यवत् हिन्दी कविता के रूप को आकर्षक बनाना चाहते थे। इसलिए उन्होंने व्यंजना-शैली में सुधार किये और बाह्य-वर्णनों की अपेक्षा 'मैं' परक उद्गार प्रकट किये मानो वे उनके ही अनुभव हों। छायावाद और रहस्यवाद को एक मान कर समीक्षकों ने गड़बड़झाला मचा दिया है। कठिनाई तो तब होती है जब वे परस्पर विरोधी कथन करने लगते हैं। हम छायावादी और रहस्यवादी रचनाओं में इस प्रकार अन्तर करते हैं—(१) दोनों में आत्मानुभूति होती है, (२) दोनों की अभिव्यक्ति प्रतीकात्मकता-लाक्षणिकता-प्रधान होती है, (३) छायावाद का आलम्बन लौकिक (मानव या प्रकृति) और रहस्यवाद का अलौकिक निर्गुण ब्रह्म होता है। रहस्यवाद की रचनाओं में प्रकृति में निहित रहस्य के प्रति जिज्ञासा-भाव भी व्यक्त हो सकता है, (४) दोनों में प्राय: विरह के उत्पीड़न का विषण्ण स्वर सुन पड़ता है। श्री गुलाबराय इन वादों के संबंध में कहते हैं, "प्रकृति में मानवी भावों का आरोप कर जड़-चेतन के एकीकरण की प्रवृत्ति छायावाद की एक विशेषता है···जो उसकी 'मूर्त' से 'अमूर्त' की तुलना करने वाले अलंकार-विधान में परिलक्षित होती है, जब यह प्रवृत्ति कुछ अधिक वास्तविकता धारण कर अनुभूतिमय निजी सम्बन्ध की ओर अग्रसर होती है तभी छायावाद, रहस्यवाद में परिणत हो जाता है।"[१४] आचार्य शुक्ल छायावाद को एक शैली विशेष भी मानते हैं। अतएव यदि रचना आत्मपरक है और वह वक्र-शैली (प्रतीक, लक्षणा, व्यन्जना आदि) में लिखी गई है तो उसका आलम्बन चाहे लौकिक हो या पारलौकिक वह छायावाद-शैली की रचना कही जायगी। छायावाद को जब हम केवल शैली मान लेते हैं तब आलम्बन विशेष का प्रश्न ही नहीं उठता। शुक्ल जी आधुनिक तथाकथित रहस्यवाद की रचनाओं को रहस्यवाद की रचनाएँ मानने को तैयार नहीं हैं क्योंकि "जिस तथ्य का हमें ज्ञान नहीं, जिसकी अनुभूति से वास्तव में कभी हमारे हृदय में स्पन्दन नहीं हुआ, उसकी व्यंजना का आडम्बर कर दूसरों का समय नष्ट करने का हमें कोई अधिकार नहीं।"[१५] उनका यह भी मत है कि छायावादी कविताओं में कोई निर्दिष्ट भाव-भूमि नहीं है, कोरी अभिव्यञ्जना है, (form) है जो क्रोचे के अभिव्यञ्जनावाद[१६] से भी प्रभावित है। प्रसाद, पन्त, निराला और महादेवी

१४. 'काव्य के रूप'—पृ. १३७

१५. काव्य में रहस्यवाद—देखो 'चिन्तामणि' भाग २, पृ. ६३

१६. क्रोचे वस्तु (matter) को परिवर्तनशील मानता है पर आकृति (form) को शाश्वत, क्योंकि वह आत्मा की कृति है। साधारणत: हम कला के बाहरी रूप को अभिव्यञ्जना कहते हैं। क्रोचे बाह्य अभिव्यक्ति को अभिव्यञ्जना नहीं मानता, उसके मत से शब्द या छन्द तभी बाहर प्रगट

छायावाद तथा रहस्यवाद का प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं। इस काल की अधिकांश रचनाओं में लौकिक प्रेम का उभार पाया जाता है।[१७] 'हाला-प्याला और साकी को पुकार वाली कृतियां 'हालावाद' से अभिहित की जाती हैं (यद्यपि हाला, प्याला और साकी का भी अध्यात्मीकरण किया गया है–किया जा सकता है)। उमर खय्याम की खुमारी को हिन्दी में प्रचलित करने का श्रेय बच्चन को है।

हमने स्वच्छन्दतावाद की चर्चा करते समय कहा था कि आचार्य शुक्ल के इस मत से हम सहमत नहीं हैं कि पाठक जी का स्वच्छन्दतावाद उनके समय से आगे नहीं बढ़ पाया। हमारा निश्चित मत है, 'छायावाद' युग अंग्रेजी के वर्डस्वर्थ, शैली, कीट्स, बायरन, कॉलरिज आदि के 'रोमेंटिसिज़म' का हिन्दीकरण है (यद्यपि उसमें अपनी जातीयता का लोप भी नहीं है)। छायावादी रचनाओं में नूतन कल्पकता, नूतन छन्दविधान (और मुक्तछन्दता भी), गुह्य संकेत, प्रकृति और मानव की आत्मा के दर्शन की लालसा और लौकिक प्रेम की उद्दामता—सभी कुछ पाया जाता है। और यही उपदान रोमेंटिक कविता में भी तो पाये जाते हैं। छायावादी युग में राष्ट्र प्रेम और गौरव के गीत वक्र-शैली में माखनलाल और दिनकर ने गाये। इस युग में गीति (Lyrics) का विशेष चलन हुआ।

वक्र-शैली और अन्तर्मुखी वृत्ति का छायावादी-युग लगभग १६३६ में अन्तिम सांसें लेने लगा। सन् १९३४ की एक शाम को लन्दन के एक होटल में आनन्द मुल्कराज, जहीर आदि चार पांच भारतीयों ने मिलकर एक संघ की स्थापना की जिसका उद्देश्य संसार की प्रगतिशील प्रवृत्तियों को साहित्य में प्रश्रय देना था। उसके दो वर्ष बाद लखनऊ में स्वर्गीय प्रेमचन्द्र के सभापतित्व में प्रगतिशील संघ की स्थापना हुई जिसमें लेखकों को कल्पना के दुमंजिले प्रासाद से धरती की सड़क पर चलने की चेतावनी दी गई। युग धर्म को अपने साहित्य में उतारने का आग्रह किया गया। धीरे धीरे यह प्रवृत्ति 'वाद' का रूप धारण कर मार्क्स के सिद्धान्तों की प्रचार-सूचना बन गई। इसमें यथार्थ जगत से 'सुपरमैन' (नरश्रेष्ठ) को नीचे धकेल कर नर जाति की ही प्रतिष्ठा की जाने लगी विशेषकर उसकी जो शोषित है, उत्पीड़ित है, वञ्चित है, हीन है। कविता पुनः अन्तर से बहिर्मुखी होने लगी। छायावादी कवि के समान प्रगतिवादी कवि 'त्रयोदशी' की रजनी में अशोक को किसी मदिराक्षी के चरणस्पर्श से पुष्पित कर मदनोत्सव

होते हैं जब मन उन्हें पहिले गा चुकता है। इसीलिये वह कहता है अभिव्यञ्जना ही सौन्दर्य है और सौन्दर्य ही अभिव्यञ्जना है।

१७. "जानता हूं प्यारे उसकी पीर को भी।
बांह तुमने डाल दी ज्यों फूल माला,
संग में, पर नाग का भी पाश डाला,
जानता हूं गलहार हूं, जंजीर को भी॥
कौन आया सुरा का स्वाद लेने
जो कि आया है हृदय का रक्त देने
जानता मधुरस गरल के नीर को भी।
जानता हूं प्यार उसकी पीर को भी॥"
—बच्चन (मिलन यामिनी पृ. ८४)

नहीं मनाता और न वह अपने ही आँसुओं से रह रह कर जलना या गलना चाहता है । अनन्त का स्पर्श भी वह भूल गया है, उसे अब मिल के भोंपू खूब सुन पड़ते हैं। कहारिन की बिवाई भरी एड़ी और हथेलियों में कविता दिखलाई देने लगी है । यद्यपि प्रगतिवादी काव्य अपने को रोमाञ्चवाद का विरोधी घोषित करता है तो भी उसकी कई रचनाओं में उन्मुक्त प्रेम जो वासना से सना हुआ होता है पाया जाता है । अन्तर इतना ही है कि जहाँ छायावादी कविता का आलम्बन अभिजातवर्गीय नारी होता था वहां प्रगतिवादी प्रेम-काव्य का आलम्बन निम्न वर्ग की नारी होता है । इस वाद की कविता हँसिया, हथौड़ा और फावड़े में सिमिट कर रह गई है। जिन शोषितों में क्रान्ति उत्पन्न करना उसका ध्येय है उन तक वह अभी तक पहुंच नहीं पाई है क्योंकि वह जन-भाषा और जन-भावना से दूर है । क्योंकि वह उनके साथ एक रस होकर नहीं लिखी गई । उसका संचार, प्रचार बुद्धिवादियों तक ही सीमित है । जब से प्रगतिवादी आन्दोलकों ने अपने को रूसी साम्यवाद के साथ अभिन्न बना लिया है तब से हिन्दी के चोटी के कवि निराला, पन्त आदि उससे पृथक हो गये हैं । क्योंकि इन कवियों का एक आध्यात्मिक दृष्टिकोण है जिसका जड़वादी मार्क्स से मेल नहीं खाता । कल्पना, भावना जैसी कोमल मनोवृत्तियों का प्रगतिवाद अथवा मार्क्सवाद में कोई स्थान नहीं है । काव्य कोमल मनोवृत्तियों के बहिष्कार से जीवित नहीं रह सकता ।

प्रगतिवाद की संकुचित परिधि की प्रतिक्रिया हिन्दी कविता में 'प्रयोगवाद' के रूप में प्रकट होने लगी है । इस वाद का प्रारम्भ अज्ञेय द्वारा सम्पादित तारसप्तक की भूमिका से होता है । जिस तरह अंग्रेजी में वर्डस्वर्थ-कालरिज के Lyrical Ballads के प्रकाशन से Romanticism (स्वच्छन्दवाद) की कविताओं का प्रचलन होता है उसी तरह हिन्दी में तारसप्तक कविता-संग्रहों के प्रकाशन से प्रयोगवाद का रूप सामने आता है । इस प्रकार की रचनाओं में आत्मपरक भावनाओं और परपरक विचारों के साथ सामञ्जस्य स्थापित करने का दावा किया जाता है । इसमें प्रगतिवाद की तरह काव्य वस्तु का क्षेत्र सीमित नहीं है । इस वाद का जन्म छायावाद युग की अतिभाव विभोरता और प्रगतिवाद की शुष्क बौद्धिकता की प्रतिक्रिया जान पड़ता है । प्रगतिवादी साहित्य ने ऐसी कोई चीज़ प्रदान नहीं की जिसका स्थायी प्रभाव हो सके । प्रगतिवादी साहित्य-सर्जन में योग देने वाले प्रसिद्ध कवि पं० उदयशंकर भट्ट ने स्वीकार किया है "कि प्रगतिवाद के नाम से जितना भी साहित्य-सर्जन हुआ है वह रूस की प्रेरणा से लाल निशान हँसिया, हथौड़े का साहित्य है········मार्क्स का साहित्य पढ़ कर साहित्य-कार बनने वाले इन महानुभावों की कृति में न रस था, न चमत्कार पूर्ण कर्तृत्व । साम्यवाद के इन बौद्धिक खिलाड़ियों ने जो कुछ लिखा वह न तो भारत के किसानों का था और न मज़दूरों का ।"[१८] प्रयोगवादी रचना में शैली की अभिनवता, नूतन प्रतीक, नव कल्पनाएँ, प्रचलित पदों का प्रयोग और नवीन छन्दों का सर्जन आवश्यक समझा जाता है । कवि सदा प्रयोगवादी होता है । क्षण क्षण नवीनता की खोज में वह आतुर रहता है इसलिये यह वाद कोई नूतन संदेश लेकर नहीं आ रहा है । काव्य में सम्भवतः गत्यवरोध दूर करने के लिये इसे पुरस्सर किया जा रहा है । रोमेंटिक कविताएँ भी क्या काव्य के विषय और शैली के सम्बन्ध में नूतन प्रयोग उपस्थित

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१८. 'नया समाज' अगस्त १९४९ ।

नहीं करती ? अंग्रेजी में आधुनिक कविता के क्षेत्र में फ्रांस से बहुत से वाद इंग्लिश चैनल पार कर पहुँचते रहते हैं। बीसवीं शताब्दी के प्रारम्भ में यीट्स, एज़रा पाउन्ड आदि ने "The Tower" नामक कविता संग्रह के प्रकाशन से अंग्रेजी कविता में यथार्थवाद की शंखध्वनि की जिसमें १९वीं शताब्दी के स्वच्छन्दवाद की इति की घोषणा थी। ईलियट ने प्रतीकवाद को अपनाया। १९३० के लगभग ऑडेन ने एक नया ही मार्ग निकाला जिसमें मनोविज्ञान और राजनीति पर जोर दिया गया। सन् ४० के लगभग ऑडेनवादियों का संगठन टूट गया और इनमें से कुछ कवियों ने अर्ध-अतिवास्तववाद (Semi Surrealiasm) और अभिनव स्वच्छन्दवाद की धारा प्रवाहित की। गत वर्ष (१९५० ई०) से अंगरेजी में बाह्यांगवाद (Formalism) की प्रवृत्ति दीख पड़ती है इसमें काव्य की शैली, छन्द, भाषा आदि पर विशेष जोर दिया जाता है। इस समय फ्रांस में भञ्जनवाद (Dadaism) और अस्तित्ववाद (Existentialism) की लहर चल रही है। हिन्दी का प्रयोगवाद इन सब पाश्चात्य लहरों के समान एक लहरी 'वाद' ही कहा जा सकता है। अंग्रेजी के समीक्षक इन वादों की क्षणभंगुरता को अनुभव कर उन्हें विशेष महत्त्व नहीं दे रहे हैं। जिस कविता में जीवन का शाश्वत सत्य अभिव्यक्त होता है वह चाहे जिस वाद के अन्तर्गत परिगणित हो, सब युग की कृति होती है और साहित्य को गौरवान्वित करती है। यदि प्रयोगवादी कवि भाषा और शैली को युगानुरूप बनाने के साथ ही उसमें सामान्य मानव भावनाओं को भी जिनमें युग झांकता रहता है, अंकित कर सकें तो वे हिन्दी कविता में सच-मुच नूतनता सर्जन करने के श्रेय के भागी होंगे।

Vallabhācārya's Aṇubhāṣya

By

G. H. BHATT, *Baroda.*

Vallabhācārya, the advocate of the *S'uddhādvaita Vedānta,* has written a commentary on the *Brahmasūtras,* known as *Aṇubhāṣya.* It is proposed to point out the significance of the title *Aṇubhāṣya* in this short article.

There have been some explanations of the term *Aṇubhāṣya* offered by scholars. Some are of the opinion that the commentary is so called because the size of the soul as described in the *Brahmasūtras* and the commentary is, according to Vallabhācārya, atomic *(aṇu)*[1]. Others hold the view that Vallabhācārya has accepted the word-testimony *(S'abdapramāṇa* of the Vedas*)* as most authoritative and, therefore, followed it most scrupulously, and consequently the commentary goes under the name of *Aṇubhāṣya*[2]. The word *Aṇu* in the title *Aṇubhāṣya* is derived by these thinkers from √*aṇ* 'to sound' (*s'abde*). They thus try to show that the Bhāṣya of Vallabhācārya is rightly called *Aṇubhāṣya* as it is absolutely based on the *S'abda-pramāṇa.* There is also another view that Vallabhācārya has given the title of *Aṇubhāṣya* to his commentary simply out of modesty, suggesting thereby that his attempt is very humble[3].

A critical study of the works of the schools of Madhvācārya and Vallabhācārya clearly shows that the three views mentioned above are not correct and that the proper explanation of the term *Aṇubhāṣya* is to be found somewhere else.

Regarding the first view it should be noted that Vallabhācārya is not the only Ācārya to accept the size of the soul as atomic. All other Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas are of the same view. The atomic size of the soul is, therefore, not a doctrine quite peculiar to the system of Vallabhācārya ; and in these circumstances there cannot be any justification for giving the title *Aṇubhāṣya* to the commentary merely on the strength of a feature common to other schools of the Vedānta. The view is, therefore, unacceptable.

The second view is no doubt ingenious and appears to give credit to Vallabhācārya. But the case is not really so strong as it appears to be at the outset. A study of the different schools of the Vedānta shows that all

1. J. G. Shah : *A Primer of Aṇubhāṣya*, pp. 11-17.
2. H. O. Shastri · *Pīyūṣapatrikā.*
3. Some modern scholars.

the Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas have accepted the *S'abda-pramāṇa* as the highest authority and interpreted the *S'ruti* passages in that light. Even S'aṅkarācārya, who is more of a philosopher than of a theologian and is, therefore, naturally expected to take a different stand, states very often that the *S'abda-pramāṇa* enjoys highest authority in the discussion of philosophical problems. The objection that has been raised to the first view, therefore, holds good even in the second case. A phenomenon which is common to several schools of thought can never be considered as a distinguishing feature, of a particular school. The second view is, therefore, rejected as unconvincing.

The third view is comparatively stronger than the other two views. But in the light of the evidence from the works of Vallabhācārya it has to be dismissed in favour of the view based on the available data.

Vallabhācārya himself remarks that he composed the Bhāṣyas on the *Pūrva* and the *Uttara Mīmāṁsā Sūtras*.[4] It has been shown that the *Aṇubhāṣya* upto III. 2. 33 (inclusive) is from the pen of Vallabhācārya and the remaining portion from that of his second son, Viṭṭhalanātha.[5] The abrupt end of the *Aṇubhāṣya* at III 2 33 and not at the end of the Pāda (III. 2. 41) seems to be most unnatural. In all probability Vallabhācārya wrote the *Aṇubhāṣya* on all the Sūtras of the *Brahmasūtras*. But after his death the widow of his first son, Gopīnātha, quarrelled with his second son, Viṭṭhalanātha, and taking away some of the common property including the MSS. went away to her father's place. It may be that the folios of the *Aṇubhāṣya* from III. 2. 34 upto the end of the *Brahmasūtras* and many other works might have been taken away by the widow, and Viṭṭhalanātha might have rightly thought of finishing the work of his father. The present *Aṇubhāṣya*, therefore, happens to be the work of the father and the son.

Like a true thinker Vallabhācārya approaches all problems both synthetically and analytically, and thereby does full justice to the subject. His interpretation of the *Bhāgavata* consequently appears in the analytical and synthetic forms, the first in his commentary *Subodhinī* on the *Bhāgavata* and the second in his work, *Bhāgavatārtha-nibandha*. He also wrote a brief commentary on the *Bhāgavata*, called *Sūkṣma-ṭīkā*, which is unfortunately not available in toto. He has also summarised his doctrines most briefly in sixteen short treatises. Vallabhācārya thus gives two editions of his works, one small and the other big. In the same spirit he composed an extensive commentary on the *Brahmasūtras* which might have been called *Bhāṣya* or *Bṛhadbhāṣya*, and a brief one called *Aṇubhāṣya*.

4. *Tattvārthadīpanibandha*, S'āstrārtha Prakaraṇa, v. 5 and the Prakās'a thereon.

5. G. H. Bhatt · *The Double Authorship of Aṇubhāṣya*, Proceedings of the Fourth Oriental Conference, Vol. II, pp. 799-806.

A parallel example is found in the literary history of the school of Madhvācārya. Madhvācārya, as is well known, composed four works as commentaries on the *Brahmasūtras*, viz. (1) *Bhāṣya*, (2) *Anubhāṣya* or *Anuvyākhyāna*, (3) *Anuvyākhyānyāyavivaraṇa* and (4) *Aṇubhāṣya*[6]. Fortunately these works are available and show that the second work, *Anubhāṣya*, or *Anuvyākhyāna* as it is otherwise known, is composed after the *Bhāṣya* with a view to explaining the points at length,[7] and the last work, *Aṇubhāṣya*, is a very brief summary of the *Bhāṣya*[8]. Vallabhācārya seems to be aware of the works of Madhvācārya and has actually quoted in the *Aṇubhāṣya* (II. 1. 1) a verse[9] from Madhvācārya's *Aṇubhāṣya* (II). It is thus obvious that Vallabhācārya who received inspiration from the works of Madhvācārya called his minor Bhāṣya as *Aṇubhāṣya* in imitation of the *Aṇubhāṣya* of Madhvācārya, indicating that it was merely a brief commentary. The title *Aṇubhāṣya*, therefore, merely suggests the idea of brevity.

It is a pity that the big *Bhāṣya* of Vallabhācārya is not at all available at present, and for this loss the widow of his first son should be held

6. These works are published by T. R. Krishnacarya, Madhva Vilas Book Depot, Kumbhakoṇam. S. N. Dasgupta in his work · *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. IV, pp. 61-62, has wrongly distinguished *Aṇubhāṣya* from *Anuvyākhyāna*, possibly by confounding *Anubhāṣya* with *Aṇubhāṣya*.

7. स्वयं कृतापि तद्व्याख्या क्रियते स्पष्टतार्थतः। *Anuvyākhyāna*, I. 1.1.

कृत्वा **भाष्यानुभाष्ये**ऽहमपि वेदार्थसत्पतेः।
कृष्णस्य सूत्रानुव्याख्यासंन्यायविवृतिं स्फुटम् ॥ करोमि··· *Anuvyākhyānyāyavivaraṇa*, I. 1,

Cf. Jayatīrtha's remarks in the *Nyāyasudhā*—

··· ··· भगवानानन्दतीर्थमुनिर्यथाचार्याभिप्रायमस्य **भाष्यं** विधाया**नुभाष्यम**पि करिष्यन्··· नारायण-प्रणामादिकं··· ग्रन्थादौ निबध्नाति p, 1 a. (Kumbhakoṇam ed.)

एतयोः **भाष्यानुभाष्ययोः** p. 154 b.

8. ··· सूत्रार्थ उच्यते। *Aṇubhāṣya* I. b. 1.

पूर्णप्रज्ञेन मुनिना सर्वशास्त्रार्थसंग्रहः।
कृतोऽयं प्रीयतां तेन परमात्मा रमापतिः॥ *Aṇubhāṣya*, IV. b. 8.

Cf. Rāghavendrayati's remarks in his Tattva-mañjarī on *Aṇubhāṣya*—

ग्रन्थोऽयमपि बह्वर्थो भाष्यं चात्यर्थविस्तरम्।
इत्युक्तिसाम्यात्**संक्षेपभाष्यं** चात्यर्थविस्तरम्॥
अनन्तोऽर्थः प्रकटितस्त्वथा**णौ भाष्यसंग्रहे**।
इत्याहुः श्रीमदानन्दतीर्थीयोपसदा अपि॥
भगवानानन्दतीर्थमुनिः···**भाष्यानुभाष्ये** विधाय **संक्षेपभाष्यम**पि विधित्सुः···प्रतिजानीते।

9. भ्रान्तिमूलतया सर्वसमयानामयुक्तितः।
न तद्विरोधाद्वचनं वैदिकं शङ्क्यतां व्रजेत्॥

The verse with a different reading in *d* again appears in Vallabhācārya's *Subodhinī* on X. 85 (88 Vulgate), 25.

responsible. That the Ācārya actually wrote such a Bhāṣya is quite clear from some of his own statements.

Vallabhācārya remarks in the *Aṇubhāṣya* on I. 1. 2 that the problem of *āvirbhāva* and *tirobhāva* will be discussed later on in II. 1. 15.[10] Curiously enough there is no reference to this topic in the *Aṇubhāṣya* on II. 1. 15. Evidently the discussion of this problem might have appeared in the big Bhāṣya. The Ācārya, again, remarks in the Prakāśa on the *S'āstrārtha Prakaraṇa*, v. 95, that the Sāṅkhya doctrine is refuted at great length in the Bhāṣya on II. 1. 2.[11] The *Aṇubhāṣya* on II. 1. 2 consists of only one line and there is no refutation, even in brief, of the Sāṅkhya system. This statement of Vallabhācārya shows that he has got his big Bhāṣya in view at the time of writing the Prakāśa on the *S'āstrārthaprakaraṇa*. Later on the Ācārya remarks in his Prakāśa on *Sarvanirṇayaprakaraṇa*, v. 177 that the subject has been discussed at length in the Bhāṣya on II. 1. 22.[12] The *Aṇubhāṣya* on II. 1. 22 gives the argument in one line only, and this can hardly be called a lengthy discussion of the problem. This naturally shows that the long discussion referred to by the Ācārya must have appeared in his big Bhāṣya on the *Brahmasūtras*. There is also another significant remark of Vallabhācārya that the sixteen attributes of the Lord have been described in the sixteen Adhikaraṇas in the *Brahmasūtras* III. 3.[13] As there is no reference to this in the present *Aṇubhāṣya* one is led to believe that the discussion might have appeared in the big Bhāṣya or the *Aṇubhāṣya* composed by the Ācārya himself. Moreover, whenever the Ācārya makes a reference to his commentary on the *Brahmasūtras* he mentions the word Bhāṣya and not *Aṇubhāṣya*[14] a fact which suggests that the *Aṇubhāṣya* might have been one of the last works of the Ācārya. Madhvācārya also wrote the *Aṇubhāṣya* after his three commentaries on the *Brahmasūtras*.

There is a fragment of a commentary on the *Brahmasūtras*, from III. 1. 1. to III. 2. 12, published in 1916 A D. in the magazine *Puṣṭibhaktisudhā*, now defunct, under the name of *Brahmasūtra-S'rimad-Bhāṣyam* attributed to

10. मतान्तरवज्जन्मादीनां न विकारित्वं किंत्वाविर्भावतिरोभावावेव। तथोत्तरत्र वक्ष्यते तदनन्यत्वाधिकरणे। *Aṇubhāṣya*, I. 1. 2.

11. अन्यद्दूषणं भाष्ये विस्तरेणोक्तम्। Prakās'a on *Tattvārthadīpa-nibandha*, S'āstrārtha Prakaraṇa, v. 95.

12. अधिकं तु भेदनिर्देशादित्यत्र विस्तृतमस्माभिः। Prakās'a on *Tattvārthadīpanibandha*, Sarvanirṇaya-prakaraṇa v. 177.

13. अतोऽत्र भगवतः षोडश विशेषणानि। एतान्येव गुणोपसंहारे षोडशाधिकरण्या प्रतिपादितानि। Subodhinī on *Bhāgavata* III. 4. 6.

14. भाष्ये विस्तरस्योक्तत्वात्। Subodhinī on *Bhāgavata* X. 85 (88 Vulgate), 17.

Vallabhācārya[15]. The editor of this commentary, the late Mr. M. T. Telivala, further remarks that he actually saw some pages of the commentary on I. 1. 1 also, not published as yet[16]. This commentary was hailed with great joy as the Bṛhad-Bhāṣya of Vallabhācārya. But in fact it is not so. A comparative study of this commentary and Puruṣottama's Prakāśa, a commentary on Vallabhācārya's *Aṇubhāṣya*, clearly shows that the so-called *S'rīmad-Bhāṣya* of Vallabhācārya is simply a case of plagiarism of a modern writer. The author has freely borrowed from Puruṣottama's Prakāśa without acknowledgement. The style of the *S'rīmad-Bhāṣya* is, again, absolutely different from that of Vallabhācārya. It seems that some learned follower of Vallabhācarya's school, of the 18th or 19th century[17] thought that Vallabhācarya must have composed an extensive Bhāṣya over and above the *Aṇubhāṣya* and that a new Bhāṣya to be called *S'rīmad-Bhāṣya* should be written in the name of Vallabhācārya as the original Bhāṣya was not available. We are, no doubt, thankful to this modern writer for his pious wish of filling up the gap. But it must be admitted in the interest of Truth that the so-called *S'rīmad-Bhāṣya* is not written by Vallabhācārya.

15. *Puṣṭibhaktisudhā* Vol. V. Nos. 10-12; Vol. VI, Nos. 1-6.

16. Introduction to *Ras'mi* on III, 1, p. 12.

17. The author, whoever he happens to be, must be later than Puruṣottama (1668-1764 A.D.).

Bhagavad-gītā and Upaniṣads

By

G. V. DEVASTHALI, *Nasik.*

The *Bhagavad-gītā* (*BG.*) is looked upon as one of the three foundation stones of Indian Philosophy, somuch so that every Ācārya felt it incumbent on him to show that the tenets he preached formed the very teaching of *BG.* as also of the *Upaniṣads* and the *Brahma-sūtras.* According to tradition as recorded in a well-known verse[1] the Upaniṣads are the cow, Lord Kṛṣṇa the milkman, Arjuna the calf, and the nectar-like teaching of *BG.* the milk. This shows that the teaching of *BG.* forms the quintessence of the contents of the Upaniṣads. The close connection of *BG.* with Upaniṣads is also evident from the fact that traditionally the name Upaniṣad is given to each one of the chapters of *BG.* as vouchsafed by the colophons as we have them from very ancient times. From all this it is quite clear that *BG.* is very closely connected with the class of literature called the Upaniṣads. Let us try to go deeper into the question and ascertain the nature of this relation between *BG.* on the one hand and the Upaniṣads on the other.

And first we take up the parallel passages, of which we have at least six, which are almost identical and several others, which, though not identically worded, contain ideas which are closely similar (and sometimes even identical) to one another. *BG* II. 19 and 20[2] are almost identical with *Kaṭha* II. 18 and 17 respectively[3], and the variations found in the former look decidedly like improvements on the corresponding passages in the latter. Similarly *BG.* VIII. 11[4]

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1. सर्वोपनिषदो गावो दोग्धा गोपालनन्दनः ।
पार्थो वत्सः सुधीर्भोक्ता दुग्धं गीतामृतं महत् ॥ (*Varaha-Pu.*)

2. य एनं वेत्ति हन्तारं यश्चैनं मन्यते हतम् ।
उभौ तौ न विजानीतो नायं हन्ति न हन्यते ॥
न जायते म्रियते वा विपश्चिन्नायं कुतश्चिन्न बभूव कश्चित् ।
अजो नित्यः शाश्वतोऽयं पुराणो न हन्यते हन्यमाने शरीरे ॥

3. न जायते म्रियते वा कदाचिन्नायं भूत्वा भविता वा न भूयः ।
अजो नित्यः शाश्वतोऽयं पुराणो न हन्यते हन्यमाने शरीरे ॥
हन्ता चेन्मन्यते हन्तुं हतश्चेन्मन्यते हतम् ।
उभौ तौ न विजानीतो नायं हन्ति न हन्यते ॥

4. यदक्षरं वेदविदो वदन्ति विशन्ति यद्यतयो वीतरागाः ।
यदिच्छन्तो ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्ति तत्ते पदं संग्रहेण प्रवक्ष्ये ॥

is a replica of *Kaṭha* II. 15[5] with which it has one whole line identical word for word; while *BG.* II. 29[6] sounds like an echo of *Kaṭha* II. 7[7]. The other Upaniṣad that has some passages in common with *BG.* is the *S'vetāśvatara*(*S've-Up.*) Thus *BG.* XIII 13, and 14ab[8] are exactly identical with *S've-Up.* III. 16 and 17ab respectively; while *BG.* V.13c[9] is the same word for word as *S've-Up.* III. 18a. Since *BG.* is a metrical work it is but natural that it should have no passages in common with the prose Upaniṣads. It must, however, be observed that even among the older metrical Upaniṣads, *BG.* has parallel passages with only two viz. *Kaṭha* and *S'vetāśvatara*.

As for parallelism of ideas it may be possible to produce a very large number of instances. But we shall here restrict ourselves only to the most prominent and peculiar ideas which are found both in *BG.* on the one hand and the Upaniṣads on the other. Let us start with *the metaphor of the aśvattha tree* which *BG.* has in common with the *Kaṭha* and the *S've.* Upaniṣads. *BG.*[10] uses this metaphor for describing the world of transmigration caused or brought into being by attachment to *guṇas* and their products or activities and further tells us that it has to be cut off with the axe of non-attachment. Unlike the *BG.*, however, the Upaniṣads use this metaphor to describe the unity behind this diversity of the universe. Thus *Kaṭha*[11] in the beginning of the sixth *vallī* describes *Brahman* under this

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5. सर्वे वेदा यत्पदमामनन्ति तपाꣳसि सर्वाणि च यद्वदन्ति ।
यदिच्छन्तो ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्ति तत्ते पदं संग्रहेण ब्रवीमि ॥

6. आश्चर्यवत् पश्यति कश्चिदेनमाश्चर्यवद् वदति तथैव चान्यः ।
आश्चर्यवच्चैनमन्यः श्रृणोति श्रुत्वाप्येनं वेद न चैव कश्चित् ॥

7. श्रवणायापि बहुभिर्यो न लभ्यः श्रृण्वन्तोऽपि बहवो यं न विद्युः ।
आश्चर्यो वक्ता कुशलोऽस्य लब्धाऽऽश्चर्यो ज्ञाता कुशलोऽनुशिष्टः ॥

8. सर्वतः पाणिपादं तत् सर्वतोऽक्षिशिरोमुखम् ।
सर्वतः श्रुतिमल्लोके सर्वमावृत्य तिष्ठति ॥
सर्वेन्द्रियगुणाभासं सर्वेन्द्रियविवर्जितम् ।

9. नवद्वारे पुरे देही··· ।

10. ऊर्ध्वमूलमधःशाखमश्वत्थं प्राहुरव्ययम् ।
छन्दांसि यस्य पर्णानि यस्तं वेद स वेदवित् ॥
अधश्चोर्ध्वं प्रसृतास्तस्य शाखा गुणप्रवृद्धा विषयप्रवालाः ।
अधश्च मूलान्यनुसंततानि कर्मानुबन्धीनि मनुष्यलोके ॥
न रूपमस्येह तथोपलभ्यते नान्तो न चादिर्न च संप्रतिष्ठा ।
अश्वत्थमेनं सुविरूढमूलमसङ्गशस्त्रेण दृढेन छित्त्वा ॥

11. ऊर्ध्वमूलोऽवाक्शाख एषोऽश्वत्थः सनातनः ।
तदेव शुक्रं तद् ब्रह्म तदेवामृतमुच्यते ॥

metaphor, while the *Sve-Up.*[12] describes the *puruṣa* (corresponding to *Brahman* of the *Kaṭha* passage) as a tree standing firm in the firmament. It may thus be observed that *BG.* has caught hold of the metaphor of the (*aśvattha*) tree from the Upaniṣads and has not only used it in connection with transmigratory existence, but even carried it further by adding that this tree has to be cut off with the axe of non-attachment before one can seek or hope to attain the highest station from which there is no return. A similar metaphor has been used by *BG.* at IV. 42[13] where the Lord asks Arjuna to take to *yoga* and cut off all doubt or scepticism clinging to his heart with the axe of knowledge. *BG.* IX. 21[14] tells us that persons attaining heaven as a result of sacrifices have to return to the mortal world when their fund of merit is well-nigh exhausted by the enjoyments there. *BG.* seems here to follow *Muṇḍaka* (*Muṇ-Up*) I. 2. 10[15] where we are told that persons believing *iṣṭāpūrta* to be the only and the best means of salvation do go to heaven as expected; but on enjoying the reward of their good deeds there, they have to enter this mortal world or a world even lower than it.

Now we come to the idea of the two paths which the departed souls take to after death. *BG.* calls them the *śukla* and the *kṛṣṇa gatis* respectively while in the Upaniṣads they are referred to by the names *devayāna* and *pitṛyāṇa* respectively. Thus *BG.* states that Brahman-knowing persons attain *Brahman* by going along the *śukla* path and mentions fire, flame day, the bright half of month, and the six months of the northward course of the sun as some of the stations along that path[16]. In connection with the dark path, *BG.* mentions smoke, night, dark half of a month and the six months of the southward course of the sun as some of the stations and ultimately adds that one going along this path reaches as far as the moon's

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12. वृक्ष इव स्तब्धो दिवि तिष्ठत्येकस्तेनेदं पूर्णं पुरुषेण सर्वम् । (III, 9)

13. तस्मादज्ञानसंभूतं हृत्स्थं ज्ञानासिनाऽऽत्मनः ।
छित्त्वैनं संशयं योगमातिष्ठोत्तिष्ठ भारत ॥ Also cf. *BG.* IV. 42; V. 25; VI. 39 and XVIII. 10 where √छिद् has been used with संशय and द्वैध as its object.

14. ते तं भुक्त्वा स्वर्गलोकं विशालं क्षीणे पुण्ये मर्त्यलोकं विशन्ति ।
एवं त्रयीधर्ममनुप्रपन्ना गतागतं कामकामा लभन्ते ॥

15. इष्टापूर्तं मन्यमाना वरिष्ठं नान्यच्छ्रेयो वेदयन्ते प्रमूढाः ।
नाकस्य पृष्ठे ते सुकृतेऽनुभूत्वेमं लोकं हीनतरं वा विशन्ति ॥

It may be noted here that this tendency to condemn कर्मकाण्ड is noticeable even in *Cha-Up.* and *Bṛh-Up.* in the portions where they describe the two paths, *viz.* देवयान and पितृयाण. These have been discussed in this paper below.

16. अग्निर्ज्योतिरहः शुक्लः षण्मासा उत्तरायणम् ।
तत्र प्रयाता गच्छन्ति ब्रह्म ब्रह्मविदो जनाः ॥

lustre and returns to a life in this mortal world[17]. The description of these paths as we find it in the Upaniṣads is more detailed and mentions not only all the stations along these paths but also the stations which a soul occupies on his return journey from moon's lustre which he reaches by the dark path. Thus after the *uttarāyaṇa* on the white path there are, according to the *Chāndogya*(*Chā-Up.*)[18] four more stations viz. *saṁvatsara, āditya, candramas,* and *vidyut,* about which *BG.* is altogether silent. Similarly *BG.* has dropped two stations on the dark path between *dakṣiṇāyana* and *cāndramasam jyotiḥ* which according to the *Chā-Up.*[19] are *pitṛloka* and *ākāśa*. *BG.* again has nothing to say as to the course along which persons are re-born in this world after reaching the moon's lustre. But the *Chā-Up.* is very explicit on this point and states: The Soma (i. e the moon, along with the soul that has gone there) is eaten up by the gods. The soul then stays there till *saṁpāta* and returns by the same course by which he came there, and in due course is turned into space, wind, smoke, mist and cloud. Then he comes down through rains and subsides on the various kinds of corns etc. and is subsequently turned into semen in the man who consumes them and is thereafter born in a womb according as his conduct has been pleasant or otherwise[20].

BG. uses the expressions *Brahmavidaḥ* and *yogī* with reference to the persons according as they go along the *śukla* or the *kṛṣṇa* path. But there

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17. धूमो रात्रिस्तथा कृष्णः षण्मासा दक्षिणायनम् ।
तत्र चान्द्रमसं ज्योतिर्योगी प्राप्य निवर्तते ॥

18. अथ यदु चैवास्मिञ्छव्यं कुर्वन्ति यदि च नार्चिषमेवाभिसंभवन्ति अर्चिषोऽहः, अह्न आपूर्यमाणपक्षम्, आपूर्यमाणपक्षात् यान्षुदङ्ङेति मासांस्तान्, मासेभ्यः संवत्सरम्, संवत्सरादादित्यम् आदित्याच्चन्द्रमसम्, चन्द्रमसो विद्युतम्, तत्पुरुषोऽमानवः (*Chā-Up.* IV. 15. 5). तद्य इत्थं विदुः, ये चेमेऽरण्ये श्रद्धा तप इत्युपासते तेऽर्चिषमभिसंभवन्ति, अर्चिषोऽहः, अह्न आपूर्यमाणपक्षम्··· ···तत्पुरुषोऽमानवः । स एनान् ब्रह्म गमयति । एष देवयानः पन्था इति (*Chā-Up.* V. 10. 1-2) Also read *Bṛh-Up.* VI. 2. 15 which is almost identically worded.

19. अथ य इमे ग्राम इष्टापूर्ते दत्तमित्युपासते ते धूममभिसंभवन्ति । धूमाद्रात्रिम्, रात्रेरपरपक्षम्, अपरपक्षाद्यान् षड् दक्षिणैति मासांस्तान् । नैते संवत्सरमभिप्राप्नुवन्ति ॥ ३ ॥ मासेभ्यः पितृलोकम्, पितृलोकादाकाशम्, आकाशाच्चन्द्रमसम् । एष सोमो राजा । तद्देवानामन्नम् । तं देवा भक्षयन्ति (*Chā-Up.* V. 10. 3-4).

20. तस्मिन् यावत्संपातमुषित्वाथैतमेवाध्वानं पुनर्निवर्तन्ते यथेतम् आकाशम्, आकाशाद्वायुं वायुर्भूत्वा धूमो भवति, धूमो भूत्वाभ्रं भवति ॥५॥ अभ्रं भूत्वा मेघो भवति, मेघो भूत्वा प्रवर्षति । त इह व्रीहियवा ओषधिवनस्पतयस्तिलमाषा इति जायन्तेऽतो वै खलु दुर्निष्प्रपतरम् । यो यो ह्यन्नमत्ति यो रेतः सिञ्चति तद्भूय एव भवति ॥६॥ तद्य इह रमणीयचरणा अभ्याशो ह यत्ते रमणीयां योनिमापद्येरन् ब्राह्मणयोनिं वा क्षत्रिययोनिं वा वैश्ययोनिं वा । अथ य इह कपूयचरणा अभ्याशो ह यत्ते कपूयां योनिमापद्येरन् श्वयोनिं वा सूकरयोनिं वा चाण्डालयोनिं वा (*Chā.Up.* V. 10. 5-7).

appears nothing in the context[21] that would throw light on the exact signification of these terms as used by *BG*. A glance at *Chā-Up*. passage referred to above shows that the former path can be available only to those who repair to the forest and worship with the thought that faith is austerity[22], while those that stay in the village (i. e. in their homes) and practice *iṣṭāpūrta* and *dāna* have to go along the other path only[23]. From this it would appear that according to the Upaniṣad these paths are for the followers of *jñāna* and *karma mārgas*, respectively. The expressions *brahmavidaḥ* and *yogī* used by *BG*. should, therefore, be taken as standing for *jñāninaḥ* and *karmiṇah*, respectively.

After all this comparison and contrast between the idea of the paths as found in *BG*. on the one hand and the Upaniṣads on the other, it must be noted that the Upaniṣads have nothing to state beyond these paths, while *BG*. after giving information about these paths adds that a *yogin* (i. e. a follower of the *karmayoga* of *BG*.) knowing these paths is not confounded. Here *BG*. is indirectly hinting at the superiority of the *karmayoga* preached by it over the *jñānamārga* and the *karmamārga* preached in the

21. It is true that this description of the two paths is prefaced by a stanza (*BG*.V III. 23) in which Lord Kṛṣṇa declares that he would tell Arjuna of the time by passing away at which the *yogins* have or have not to return here. Laying his finger on the word *yoginaḥ* in this stanza, Dr. Modi argues that the Lord is describing these paths with reference to the *yoginaḥ* and concludes that the description of the paths here must be different from and has nothing to do with the Upaniṣadic description of the two paths which there are called *devayāna* and *pitṛyāṇa*, respectively But a comparison of the description of these paths here in *BG*. and that in the Upaniṣads leaves no doubt that the two *gatis* of *BG*. are the same as the two paths of the Upaniṣads. The expressions *brahmavidaḥ* and *yogī* (in st. 24 & 25) must, in the light of the Upaniṣadic descriptions referred to above, be taken as referring to the followers of *jñānamārga* and *karmamārga* respectively. In the stanza that follows the Lord goes on to say that though the two *gatis* lead to *āvṛtti* and *anāvṛtti* respectively, a *yogin* who knows there is never subjected to delusion. For he is above all fruit that is declared as accruing from *veda*, *yajña*, *tapas*, and *dāna*;—nay he attains *ādyam param sthānam* (*BG*. VIII. 28). It must be observed that the expression *mate* in *BG*. VIII. 26 clearly shows that the idea of the two *gatis* is borrowed by the Lord from somewhere; and for want of any other alternative and also owing to major resemblances these *gatis* must be identified with the two *mārgas* of the Upaniṣads. But, it must be noted, that the Lord has here laid stress on the fact that there are the *gatis* (nay *śāśvata-gatis*) of the *jagat* (and as such are unavoidable or *aparihārya*). Hence He naturally argues that a *yogin* who realises this fact about these *gatis* never falls a prey to *moha*. Here one is easily reminded of arguments like · गुणा गुणेषु वर्तन्त इति मत्वा न सज्जते (*BG*. III.28) गुणा वर्तन्त इत्येव योऽवतिष्ठति नेङ्गते (*BG*. XIV. 23); or तस्माद् अपरिहार्येऽर्थे न त्वं शोचितुमर्हसि (*BG*. II. 27).

22. *Chā-Up*. V. 10. 1 quoted above.

23. *Chā-Up*. V. 10. 3 quoted above.

Upaniṣads and the Vedas, respectively. Thus whereas the Upaniṣads try to show the superiority of the *jñānamārga* preached by them over the *karmamārga* preached by the Veda[24], *BG.* is showing the superiority of the path preached by it over both[25].

We have thus far discussed the relevant passages from *Chā-Up.* It must now be observed that the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Uapaniṣad* (*Bṛh-Up.*) also contains passages giving full details of these paths in almost identical expressions. But it has to be observed that while the *Chā Up.* gives us the name of only the first path[26] as *devayāna* or *devapatha—brahmapatha* (and not that of the second). the *Bṛh-Up.* is silent about the names of both. The *Bṛh-Up.*[27] again substitutes *satya* for *tapas* and *yajña*, *dāna*, and *tapas* for *iṣṭāpūrta* and *dāna* of *Chā-Up.* The *Praśna Upaniṣad*[28] (*Pra-Up.*) also gives a brief account of these paths and supplies us with the name which we do not get in the *Chā-Up.*

Creation and absorption of beings is yet another topic common to *BG.* and the Upaniṣads. In several places[29] has *BG.* stated that all beings spring out of some ultimate principle and get re-absorbed into it again. This principle is variously designated as *avyakta* (which is otherwise called *akṣara*[30] which again is said to be synonymous with *Brahman*[31]), *prakṛti*, or *mahat Brahman.*

24. This is clearly shown by a comparison of the qualifications of persons following these paths as described in the opening words of *Chā-Up.* V. 10. 1 & 3, respectively. The attitude of the Upaniṣads to *karma-kāṇḍa* in general is very well seen in statements like प्लवा ह्येते अदृढा यज्ञरूपा अष्टादशोक्तम् अवरं येषु कर्म (*Muṇḍ-Up.* II. 7,).

25. For a discussion of the attitude of *BG.* towards *karma-kāṇḍa* see my '*Karma in the Bhagavad-gītā*, in the *MM. D. V. Potdar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 250ff. The attitude of *BG.* towards *jñāna-mārga* (and *avyaktopāsanā*) is seen from the declaration of the Lord that (i) a *yogin* is superior to a *jñānin* (VI. 46); (ii) *karma-yoga* is superior to *karma-saṁnyāsa* (V. 2); for *saṁnyāsa* is hard to attain in the absence of *yoga*, while a *yoga-yukta muni* attains *Brahman* ere long (V. 6); and (iii) those who try to concentrate on the *avyakta* attain their goal only after great difficulty while He Himself helps out of the ocean of transmigratory existence those who are devoted to Him (XII 5-7).

26. *Chā-Up.* V. 10. 2; and IV. 15. 6.

27. *Chā-Up.* V. 10. 1 & 3; and *Bṛh-Up.* VI. 2. 15 & 16.

28. Cf. संवत्सरो वै प्रजापतिस्तस्यायने दक्षिणं चोत्तरं च । तद्ये ह वै तदिष्टापूर्ते कृतमित्युपासते ते चान्द्रमसमेव लोकमभिजयन्ते । त एव पुनरावर्तन्ते । तस्मादेते ऋषयः प्रजाकामा दक्षिणं प्रतिपद्यन्ते । एष ह वै रयिर्यः पितृयाणः ॥९॥ अथोत्तरेण तपसा ब्रह्मचर्येण श्रद्धया विद्ययाऽऽत्मानमन्विष्यादित्यमभिजयन्त एतद्वै प्राणानामायतनम् एतदमृतम् अभयमेतत् परायणम्, एतस्मान्न पुनरावर्तन्त इत्येष निरोधः, तदेष श्लोकः ॥ १० ॥ *Pra-Up.* I. 9-10.

29. Cf. *BG.* VII. 6; VIII. 19, IX. 6; XIV. 4, 5, etc.

30. Cf. *BG.* VIII. 21.

31. Cf. *BG.* VIII. 3.

The *Muṇḍ-Up.* also declares that all beings, varied as they are, spring forth out of the *akṣara* and are re-absorbed into it again. It also illustrates it on the analogy of thousands of sparks flying forth from a well-kindled fire[32]. The *Taittirīya-Upniṣad*[33] (*Tai-Up.*) states this very idea again very explicitly and adds also that all the beings exist in and through that ultimate principle only. This very idea is again embodied in that enigmatic expression *tajjalān* occurring in the *Chā-Up*[34]. *BG.* also is not content with stating that the beings spring out of and again get re-absorbed into the *prakṛti*. It also adds that the beings exist in and through the ultimate principle[35]. It may be observed *BG.* has named the ultimate principle variously as *avyakta*[36], (or *prakṛti* or *akṣara*) corresponding to the *akṣara*[37] of the *Muṇḍaka*. It, however, refuses to be dragged into the acceptance of the *acetana kāraṇa-vāda* of the classical *Sāṅkhya* system and makes this *avyakta* or *prakṛti* or *akṣara* only subordinate to the *puruṣa* or the *para puruṣa*[38] (whom it identifies with Lord Kṛṣṇa himself[39]), corresponding to the *Brahman* of *Tai-Up*[33]. and *Chā-Up*[34]. And more than once has the Lord stated in *BG.* that all beings are born through *prakṛti* under his superintendence[40], exist in Him (but not He through them[41]) and are re-absorbed into *prakṛti*[42], again.

The influence of last thought (i.e., thought at the moment of death) in

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32. Cf. यथा सुदीप्तात् पावकाद्विस्फुलिङ्गाः सहस्रशः प्रभवन्ते सरूपाः । तथाक्षराद्विविधाः सोम्य भावाः प्रजायन्ते तत्र चैवापियन्ति ॥ *Muṇḍ-Up.* II. 1. 1.

33. Cf. यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते येन जातानि जीवन्ति यत् प्रयन्ति अभिसंविशन्ति तद्विजिज्ञासस्व तद् ब्रह्मेति । *Tai-Up.* III. 1.

34. Cf. सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म तज्जलानिति शान्त उपासीत । *Cha-Up.* III. 14. 1.

35. Cf. न तदस्ति विना यत् स्यान्मया भूतं चराचरम् । *BG.* X. 39 ; मत्स्थानि सर्वभूतानि । *BG.* IX. 4 ; अहमादिश्च मध्यं च भूतानामन्त एव च । *BG.* X. 20; etc., etc.

36. *BG.* VIII. 18 f ; II. 28 ; VIII. 21 ; IX. 8, 10 ; etc.

37. Cf. तथाक्षराद्विविधाः सोम्य भावाः प्रजायन्ते तत्र चैवापियन्ति । *Muṇḍ-Up.* II.1.1.

38. Cf. *BG.* VII. 4 and 5 where the twofold प्रकृति is said by the Lord to belong to Himself ; Cf. मम माया दुरत्यया । VII. 14 ; प्रकृतिं स्वामधिष्ठाय IV. 6 ; and IX. 7, 8 ; VIII. 5, where also प्रकृति is said to belong to the Lord. Also cf. मयाध्यक्षेण प्रकृतिः सूयते सचराचरम् *BG.* IX. 10 ; and VIII. 22.

39. *BG.* XV. 17-18.

40. Cf. *BG.* IX. 10 ; VII. 6, 12 ; IX. 7 ; etc.

41. Cf. मत्स्थानि सर्वभूतानि न चाहं तेष्ववस्थितः *BG.* IX. 4 ; न त्वहं तेषु ते मयि । *BG.* VII. 12.

42 Cf. राज्यागमे प्रलीयन्ते तत्रैवाव्यक्तसंज्ञके *BG.* VIII. 18 ; Also cf. VIII. 19 ; IX. 7 ; etc.

determining the future state of the departing soul has been very emphatically stated by the Lord in *BG*. VIII. 5-6[43]. It is on this very ground that the Lord exhorts Arjuna to remember Him constantly and fight. The Upaniṣads also have stated this idea more than once. Thus a whole *khaṇḍa* of the eighth chapter of the *Chā-Up.* is devoted to an elaboration of this idea which it has finally summarised in the last section of that *khaṇḍa*[44]. At another place, however, this idea has been stated rather differently. There we are told that a man after his death, becomes according as what thought he entertains in this world[45]. Thus it is not merely the thought at the time of death, but the thought throughout the life, that shapes man's future life. This, in short, means that man after all is what he thinks. *BG.*[46] also expresses this idea using the word *s'raddhā* instead of *kratu* of the Upaniṣads. *Bṛh-Up.* also expresses the same idea by declaring that man's future is shaped according to his *kāma* or *kratu*[47]. A similar idea is expressed by the Lord when He tells Arjuna that a person dying under the preponderance of the *sattva-guṇa* attains stainless regions of the knowers of the Highest, while persons departing this life under the preponderance of *rajas* and *tamas* are born among those addicted to actions and among the non-sentient orders of beings respectively[48]. It would thus appear that *BG.* is almost in agreement with the Upaniṣadic idea of the influence of thought — and particularly the thought entertained at the last moment of life — in shaping man's future life or birth.

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43. Cf. अन्तकाले च मामेव स्मरन् मुक्त्वा कलेवरम् ।
यः प्रयाति स मद्भावं याति नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥
यं यं वापि स्मरन् भावं त्यजत्यन्ते कलेवरम् ।
तं तमेवैति कौन्तेय तदा तद्भावभावितः ॥ *BG.* VIII. 5f.

44. Cf. यं यमन्तमभिकामो भवति यं कामं कामयते सोऽस्य संकल्पादेव समुत्तिष्ठति तेन संपन्नो महीयते ॥ *Cha-Up.* VIII. 2. 10.

45. Cf. अथ खलु क्रतुमयः पुरुषः यथाक्रतुरस्मिँल्लोके भवति तथेतः प्रेत्य भवति *Cha-Up.* III. 14. 1.

46. Cf. श्रद्धामयोऽयं पुरुषो यो यच्छ्रद्धः स एव सः *BG.* XVII. 3.

47. Cf. अथो खल्वाहुः काममय एवायं पुरुष इति। स यथाकामो भवति तत्क्रतुर्भवति यत्क्रतुर्भवति तत्कर्म कुरुते। यत्कर्म कुरुते तदभिसंपद्यते। तदप्येष श्लोको भवति। तदेव सक्तः सह कर्मणैति लिङ्गं मनो यत्र निषक्तमस्य। प्राप्यान्तं कर्मणस्तस्य यत्किंचेह करोत्ययम् ॥ *Bṛh-Up.* IV. 4. 5f.

48. Cf. यदा सत्त्वे प्रवृद्धे तु प्रलयं याति देहभृत्।
तदोत्तमविदां लोकानमलान् प्रतिपद्यते ॥
रजसि प्रलयं गत्वा कर्मसङ्गिषु जायते।
तथा प्रलीनस्तमसि मूढयोनिषु जायते ॥ *BG.* XIV. 14 f.

One more parallelism between *BG.* on the one hand and the Upaniṣads on the other is the importance they both attach to *yajña*, *tapas* and *dāna* to which we may also add *adhyayana*. *BG.* mentions these three as means of purification for the wise and avers that they must not be abandoned or neglected, adding that they must be performed only as one's duty without any eye on the result or without any egotism about it[49]. Habitual performance of these is called *sat*[50]. The importance of these seems to have been so well established in the days of *BG.* that it has devoted a major portion of one of its chapters to the description and discussion of these in its different varieties[51]. The importance attached to these in the Upaniṣads is evident from the fact that *Bṛh-Up.* declares these along with *vedānuvacana* as means of attaining knowledge and becoming a *muni*[52]. In a later section the same Upaniṣad tells us that those, who practice these, ultimately go along what is called the *pitṛyāṇa* path to be born again, while those, who practice *śraddhā* and *satya* in the forest go along the *devayāna* path and attaining the *Brahman*, have never to return to this transmigratory world again[53]. *Chā-Up.*, on the other hand, describes these three (viz., *yajña*, *adhyayana*, and *dāna*) as the first *dharma-skandha* while *tapas* is described by it as the second *dharma-skandha*. It further adds that all those who follow these (i. e., any one of these) attain good worlds while one who follows the third *dharma-skandha* (viz., *naiṣṭhika brahmacarya*) attains immortality[54]. It would thus appear that these two of the oldest Upaniṣads already contain the germ of the idea of the inferiority of *yajña*, *dāna*, *adhyayana* and even *tapas* as means of salvation. For while *Chā-Up.* harps on *naiṣhṭhika brahmacarya* as a sure means of attaining immortality, *Bṛh-Up.* speaks of *śraddhā* and *tapas* in the forest as leading one to *Brahmaloka* and getting free from transmigration. The idea which is thus found in the Upaniṣads is picked up by *BG.* which in very explicit

49. Cf. यज्ञदानतपःकर्म न त्याज्यं कार्यमेव तत् ।
यज्ञो दानं तपश्चैव पावनानि मनीषिणाम् ॥ *BG.* XVIII. 5 ff. Also cf. *BG.* XVII. 11. 17 and 20.

50. Cf. यज्ञे तपसि दाने च स्थितिः सदिति चोच्यते ।
कर्म चैव तदर्थीयं सदित्येवाभिधीयते ॥ *BG.* XVII. 27.

51. Cf. *BG.* XVII. 11-28.

52. Cf. तमेतं वेदानुवचनेन ब्राह्मणा विविदिषन्ति यज्ञेन दानेन तपसाऽनाशकेन । एतमेव विदित्वा मुनिर्भवति । *Bṛh-Up.* IV. 4. 22.

53. Cf. *Bṛh-Up.* VI. 2. 15f.

54. Cf. त्रयो धर्मस्कन्धाः । यज्ञोऽध्ययनं दानमिति प्रथमः । तप एव द्वितीयः । ब्रह्मचार्याचार्यकुलवासी तृतीयोऽत्यन्तमात्मानमाचार्यकुलेऽवसादयन् । सर्वे एते पुण्यश्लोका भवन्ति । ब्रह्मसंस्थोऽमृतत्वमेति ॥ *Cha-Up.* II. 23.1.

terms declares that a *yogin* gets much more than what has been declared as accruing to one from *vedas, yajñas, tapas* and *dāna* and attains the highest place (*param sthānam*[55]). Similarly at another place the Lord has told Arjuna that it is impossible for any one to see Him in His *Universal Form* by means of *veda, yajña, adhyayana, dāna*, and austere *tapas....Bhakti* is the only means for it[56]. In fact when *BG.* asks man to perform all these it does not forget to emphasize the fact that they are to be performed for purification and with *śraddhā*[57], which, indeed, is one of the pre-requisites to *jñāna* leading to *parā śānti*[58].

The last point of contact between *BG.* and Upaniṣads that we have to note is the restrictions on the imparting of the occult knowledge. Thus *BG.* XVIII. 67[59] in clear terms states that the *śāstra* (i.e. *BG.* itself) is not to be taught or imparted to one who is not leading a life of austerity, who is not a devotee, who is not eager to listen, or one who traduces the Lord. Such restrictions have been very common in India in almost every branch of learning. The Upaniṣads have stated the qualifications of worthy recipients of *vidyā* both positively as well as negatively. Thus *S've-Up.* in negative terms like *BG.* declares that the secret teaching is not to be bestowed on one who is not self-controlled, nor on one who is not a son or a pupil[60]. But positively again the Upaniṣad adds that it will be grasped only by one who has the highest devotion to God and an equal devotion to his preceptor[61]. The *Muṇḍ-Up.*[62] also gives similar qualifications; while the *Chā-Up.* tells that it should be imparted only to the eldest son or to a worthy pupil and to none else[63].

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55. Cf. वेदेषु यज्ञेषु तपःसु चैव दानेषु यत्पुण्यफलं प्रदिष्टम् ।
अत्येति तत्सर्वमिदं विदित्वा योगी परं स्थानमुपैति चाद्यम् ॥ *BG.* VIII. 28.

56. Cf. *BG.* XI. 48, 53f.

57. Cf. *BG.* XVIII. 5f. ; XVII. 11, 17, 20.

58. Cf. *BG* IV. 39f.

59. Cf. इदं ते नातपस्काय नाभक्ताय कदाचन ।
न चाशुश्रूषवे वाच्यं न च मां योऽभ्यसूयति ॥ *BG.* XVIII. 67.

60. Cf. वेदान्ते परमं गुह्यं पुराकल्पे प्रचोदितम् ।
नाप्रशान्ताय दातव्यं नापुत्रायाशिष्याय वा पुनः ॥ *S've-Up.* VI. 22.

61. Cf. यस्य देवे परा भक्तिर्यथा देवे तथा गुरौ ।
तस्यैते कथिता ह्यर्थाः प्रकाशन्ते महात्मनः ॥ *S've-Up.* VI. 23.

62. Cf. क्रियावन्तः श्रोत्रिया ब्रह्मनिष्ठाः स्वयं जुह्वत एकर्षिं श्रद्धयन्तः ।
तेषामेवैतां ब्रह्मविद्यां वदेत शिरोव्रतं विधिवद्यैस्तु चीर्णम् ॥ *Muṇḍ-Up* III. 2.10.

63. Cf. इदं वाव तज्ज्येष्ठाय पुत्राय पिता ब्रह्म प्रब्रूयात् प्रणाय्याय वान्तेवासिने । नान्यस्मै कस्मैचन यद्यप्यस्मा इमामद्भिः परिगृहीतां धनस्य पूर्णां दद्यादेतदेव ततो भूय इत्येतदेव ततो भूय इति ॥ *Cha-Up.* III. 11. 5f.

It may thus be observed that *BG.* has several ideas and also passages in common with the Upaniṣads — particularly the older ones as is but naturally expected. But at the same time we must remember that *BG.* has not merely borrowed its ideas from the Upaniṣads wholesale. It has utilised them in its own way for the purposes of its own teaching, marking thus a distinct advance over the Upanisads in several cases. Thus, for example, we see that *BG.* has taken over from the Upaniṣads the famous metaphor of the *aśvattha* tree, the idea of the two paths, the idea of unity behind diversity, the *cetanakāraṇa-vāda* and the idea of the influence of the last thought in determining the future birth. But at the same time we see how *BG.* has utilised each one of these ideas in its own way and for emphasizing its own teaching. But that is not all. For we see that *BG.* has also given us certain ideas which are hardly to be met with in the Upaniṣadic literature. Thus, for example, we find *BG.* laying stress on the triple classification[64] of things into *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa* which is conspicuous by its absence in the Upaniṣads. In fact, the idea of the *guṇas* is rarely met with in the Upaniṣads, at least the older ones among them. But the most notable of all such special contributions of *BG.* to the Upaniṣadic fund of philosophical ideas is the element of *bhakti*[65] and the prominence which *BG.* has attached to it. Neither the word *bhakti* nor the root √*bhaj* (in the sense of '*being devoted to*') is met with in any of the older Upaniṣads, the earliest Upaniṣad to use the expression *bhakti* being the *Śvetāśvatara*. Equally interesting to note is the fact that *BG.* catches the tendency of the Upaniṣads to condemn *karma-kāṇḍa* and tries to bring about a harmony among *jñāna*, *karma*, *bhakti*, and such other paths supposed to lead to *mokṣa*, emphasizing its *karma-yoga* (as being superior to *karma-saṁnyāsa*[66]) and at the same time declaring *bhakti* to be the easiest of them all.

64. Cf. *BG.* XVII. 2-18; XVIII 19-39.

65. Cf. For '*Bhakti in the Bhagavad-gītā*' see my article under that caption in *The Siddheshwar Varma, Presentation Volume*, Part II, pp. 29-35.

66. Cf. *BG.* V. 2.

Some Criticisms of the Traditional Concept of Ajñāna

By

G. R. MALKANI, *Amalner.*

1. *What is Philosophy ?*

Philosophy to me is not a matter of a rounded system or a world-picture. If we wanted such a picture, the common theory of *ajñāna* as found in Vedantic literature is quite as good as any that can be offered. The only world picture (which is really not a picture) that I have before me is—there never was anything, there never is anything, and there never shall be anything, except *Brahman*, the Great, the One without a second. The facts of experience that we want to explain and the explanations that we give of them are just *imagination.* We start with error and remain in error. *Dṛṣṭi-sṛṣṭi* is our common malaise. We have created a world through wrong perception, and we want to explain that world. What we need is to be free from this wrong perception or *dṛṣṭi* altogether. There will then remain nothing to explain.

No system of philosophy can ever *explain* all the facts of experience. It is useless then to construct a system or to formulate a theory of all reality. Philosophy is to me primarily a *way of knowledge*, which requires an appropriate method of knowledge. Advaita Vedānta should be understood as such a way of knowledge. When, however, it comes to removing certain hindrances to knowledge, our present experience requires to be properly interpreted. This interpretation involves reflective thinking, which is philosophy. We reflect when there is a problem, a question or a doubt. If the question can be resolved and the doubt dispelled, there is nothing left to be done. Where the question stops, we stop. We are not called upon to explain, except in the sense that legitimate doubts must be resolved.

2. *The illusory cannot be further explaind.*

Belief in metaphysical reality or in *Brahman* poses a question—what about the world ? Is not the world real ? Is not the individual real ? Vedanta finds the answer in the view that the world is illusory. Anything different from *Brahman* is illusory. Does not the answer meet the case ? Can we raise a further question, why anything is illusory ? What is the reason of illusory ? No answer to this is possible. The illusory is the product of an error of perception. An error of perception is an irrationality. It can be recognised and corrected. It cannot be explained. Nothing *can explain* an error.

Does not *avidyā* or ignorance explain an error of perception ? Ignorance always precedes error and is a necessary condition of it. Ignorance of *Brahman* does not arise. It is beginningless or *anādi*. All ignorance is such. It is constant and unchanging. Error, on the other hand, arises. It is an occurrent. An occurrent must have a cause. The search for a cause can only stop when we reach a cause that is permanent. What better cause for erroneous perception than *avidyā* ? It is the continuant in all our errors of perception, as gold is the continuant in all ornaments made of gold. But does *avidyā* explain ? Can we not go beyond it and ask, is it real or illusory ? If it is illusory, as every student of the nondualistic way of thought will have to admit, have we not come back to the original position, namely that the illusory and the error of perception of which it is the product can never be further explained.

3. Ignorance is not the ultimate source of all evil.

Let us suppose that *avidyā* is the ultimate explanation of things in the sense mentioned above. Why is the dispelling of this ignorance a desideratum ? Why can we not stay happy in *avidyā*. We do stay happy in it in the state of deep sleep. *Avidyā* does us no harm. There is such a thing as blissfull ignorance. What does us harm is erroneous perception whereby there is a world that is *other* to us, and there is *finitude* or individuality. Take these products of wrong perception away, and let ignorance remain if it can. Knowledge is in the service of a desired purpose. That purpose is impossible without those ills of life which are born of erroneous knowledge.

4. Ignorance not the cause.

To be free from the illusions that mar our life, we need to perceive truly. Knowledge directly corrects error of perception, and through it cancels the illusion. Knowledge cannot directly affect objective illusion, but only the subjective cause of this illusion. It is, therefore, highly unreasonable to argue as some have argued that the cause of the illussion is ignorance. How is ignorance to create an illusion *there* ? Ignorance by itself can do nothing. It can create an illusion through erroneous perception. But what about this perception ? Is it axplained by ignorance ? Evidently not. Ignorance does not constrain any one to misperceive. Erroneous perception is never explained. The correlativity of error and the illussory object is a wrong way of putting things, if it means that the some common ignorance creates the object *there* in the form of the world, and the error *here* in the form of the perception of that world. Creativity of any kind does not lie with ignorance.

5 Ignorance not ultimate.

It is argued that ignorance is really ultimate. All erroneous perception requires prior ignorance. Ignorance requires nothing beyond itself as its cause. We now question the ultimate character of ignorance itself. We never

know ignorance by itself. Ignorance is essentialy *correlative* to knowledge and is only known in this correlation. There is no meaning for ignorance being prior to all knowledge, and, therefore, to erroneous knowledge, in an absolute sense. For the purpose of showing this we shall take our experience of ignorance in its different forms, and we shall show that there is no form which proves the priority in question. Our analaysis will rather show that ignorance is an illusory object or the object of an erroneous perception. Not being really prior but only simultaneous, *it appears prior*. Where knowledge is formed, ignorance is formed automatically. Where knowledge is not formed, ignorance does not emerge, is not known, and has no meaning.

6. *Ignorance which is the absence of knowledge.*

The most evident form of ignorance is that of *prāg-abhāva* or prior absence of knowledge. This prior absence of knowledge is clearly known only after knowledge has arisen. When I know A, I become aware of the absence of the knowledge of A prior to that knowledge. The knowledge of the absence involves the knowledge of the thing that is absent. Hence without knowledge of the thing, ignorance of the thing in this negative sense does not emerge.

7. *Prior ignorance which is positive.*

We shall now suppose that the prior ignorance is not the *negation* of knowledge, but something *positive*. Have we any experience of this positive and prior ignorance ? There is a sense in which we have none. Ignorance requires an object. Since we do not know the object of ignorance what is ignorance to relate to ? Ignorance of what ? We can only be aware of ignorance of some known object. There are infinite things in the universe wholly unknown to us. We are not conscious of being ignorant of them. Again, taking a concrete instance, I am not aware of my ignoronce of Mr. A in an assembly which I attend. There are an infinite number of persons absent in the assembly. Am I conscious of my ignorance of all those persons ? But the moment the suggestion of the possibility of Mr. A in the assembly is visualised, his absence and my ignorance about him become known to me. There are any number of books absent from my table. I am not conscious of being ignorant of them. But the moment a suggestion is made of *a certain* book being on the table, I become aware of my ignorance of it. The object of ignorance must be supplied, and the object becomes thereby known. Ignorance of the thing here also demands knowledge of the thing. Ignorance is still negative in character.

8. *Real positive ignorance which is a present fact.*

But does this disprove the thesis that I am aware of my present ignorance of a thing ? All that our previous argument proves is that ignorance must

be supplied with an object. There can be no awareness of an objectless ignorance. But when I am aware of my ignorance of an object, I am not said to *know* the object. I am aware of my ignorance of what is in your mind, of what is in a closed box, of what is happening in Sirins, etc. Here clearly I do not know the object, and I am aware of my ignorance of the same. Or what is the same thing, I am aware of the object *as unknown*. This might appear to involve a self contradction. Can I be said to know an object and at the same time not know it ?

9. *A self-contradiction that is sought to be removed in the wrong way.*

One answer is that there is no contradiction, because when I am said to be ignorant of a thing I know the thing indeterminately or vaguely. It is never the case that I *know* the thing and also *not know* it. Thus, as soon as ignorance is formulated and supplied with an object, I know the object in an indeterminate sort of way, and this indeterminate awareness of the object is what I call my ignorance of the object. We cannot accept this view. An indeterminate or vague awareness of an object is only a form of knowledge of the object at a lower level, requiring to be further developed and determined. It reminds one of a kind of knowledge, at the level of pure sensation or feeling. It is a species of knowledge, not of non-knowledge or ignorance. Ignorance is qualitatively different from knowledge. To say that I know the object *as unknown* is one thing. To say that I know the object indeterminately is another. The latter is a certain fault of knowledge or deficiency of knowledge, which transfers its character to the object. This deficiency can be made good, and then the object will become *better known*. The former implies *no knowledge* of the object or *ignorance* of the object. As ignorance is not a species of knowledge and is not qualitatively continuous with it, but is rather opposed to it, ignorance cannot mean indeterminate knowledge.

10. *How the contradiction is really removed.*

The contradiction can be removed in another way. When I am aware of my ignorance of A, I am aware of not knowing A in a particular sense, i.e. empirically or through a *pramāṇa*. Thus there are levels or forms of knowledge. All knowledge of an object can never be denied, but only empirically produced knowledge that is opposed to ignorance and that dispels ignorance. There is another kind of knowledge of the object, which is consistent with the ignorance of the object, and which is in fact demanded by this ignorance. This knowledge is the knowledge of a pure consciousness called *sākṣin*, that requires no *pramāṇa*. It reveals both the ignorance of an object as well as the empirically produced knowledge of it which dispels the ignorance. Thus, when I am aware of my ignorance of what is in a closed

box, I know the something in the box *as unknown*, which is later transformed into the something *as known* when the appropriate methods of knowledge are initiated. In this sense we can claim that the object of ignorance is both known and unknown or known as unknown. There is no question of any indeterminate knowledge here.

11. How positive ignorance too is an appearance correlative to knowledge.

We now come back to the main line of the argument, is ignorance necessarily correlative to knowledge ? It will be said that it is not correlative. We can be aware of ignorance merely as such, without reference to knowledge. I do not know what is in your mind. Here my ignorance of what is in your mind is directly known without any reference to knowledge. We contend that the correlativity is there in another form. We never begin with ignorance, and we are never aware of it as the first thing What comes first is knowledge. This knowledge is finite. It is determinate. It draws a limit. This much we know, but no farther. But to draw a limit is to give reality to what goes beyond the limit. No limit, no beyond. No knowledge, no ignorance. Once you know something, the indeterminate or the *indefinite* is inevitable ; and that is the object of ignorance. Everywhere it is so. I know this side of the shield; what goes beyond it is the other side, which is to me indefinite. I know that you are a person before me, with a mind working, actively ; what goes beyond, it is the actual working which is to me indefinite. I know myself as an entity that is self—identical in different states: what goes beyond it is its own true nature or its identity with *Brahman* ; which is to me indefinite, *The indefinite of ignorance can only arise in relation to the knowledge of the definite.*

12. The indefinite of ignorance is to be distinguished from the view that what we do not know is the specific nature of a thing.

This is not the same thing as the view that we know an object in its general character and are ignorant of its specific character, so that we both know and not know the same object. Our whole problem relates to the object of ignorance or what we do not know. It is this object that is known by the pure consciousness as unknown. What we have to add further to this is, that the object in question only emerges in relation to some knowledge that we actually have, and that it then stands contrasted to the latter as the indefinite. We are ignorant of what can only be described as the indefinite, and not as the specific nature.

13. An experience of ignorance where correlativity to knowledge appears impossible.

This brings us to an experience of ignorance where correlativity in any

form is impossible. In deep dreamless sleep, there is complete ignorance, which we express on waking up by saying, we did not know anything. This ignorance is not correlative to any knowledge at the time. And yet it is not lost to us. It is experienced, and later remembered. Shall we not say that in this case at least complete and absolute ignorance is directly known by a pure consciousness at the time?

14. Is our waking knowledge of ignorance in sleep a genuine case of memory?

We do not accept this analysis for the following reasons:—

(*a*) Before memory becomes possible, we must have a direct experience. Have we any in sleep? If there were, the statement that I did not know anything in sleep would be wrong. After all, who is to decide about my own direct experience, except myself?

(*b*) Memory can always, in principle, be carried back to the original experience, in time and space. If the memory is dim, the carrying back is there, but the location in time and space is vague, and liable to error. The memory of my experience of ignorance in sleep should not be dim. But it is never carried back to any original experience in sleep itself, which represents a complete vacuum of all experience.

(*c*) No saṁskāra or trace can arise as the result of the so-called experience of a pure consciousness. The intelligence that originally knows alone can form or give rise to a trace or saṁskāra. If the saṁskāra is created when the mind becomes active again on waking up, then the mind must have the original experience too; and it cannot evidently remember at the time it directly knows.

15. There is a direct experience of sleep; and it is not possible without the correlativity.

We contend that there is an original experience of sleep as the state of ignorance. This is the experience of what is called *waking up*. Waking up is not sleep. It is not wakefulness either. Without this experience of waking up, there will be no appearance of sleep as past, nor appearance of wakefulness as present. It is the experiance of a *transition* from the one to the other.

How this experience of waking up is fundamental to the states may be seen from the following. If I were in sleep, and never woke up from it, I should never know of having slept. The so-called direct experience in sleep itself will not deliver the goods. Strangely, memory alone does it. Is it genuine memory?

Similarly if I had no experience of waking up, but remained simply awake, should I know *that I was awake,* that there was a state called wakefulness ? Once again, no. Wakefulness cannot be its own object. Wakefulness by itself does not stand contrasted with any other state, and without the contrast its character as a state cannot emerge. Wakefulness and sleep can only be objects to a consciousness which is beyond wakefulness and beyond sleep too. It must be a pure consciousness that neither sleeps nor wakes up, but is an eternal and immutable awareness. In the experience of *waking up,* the two states arise *simultaneously,* the one as past and the other as present. They stand contrasted with each other, sleep appearing as the negation of wakefulness. The whole appearance takes place in a consciousness that supports the appearance, gives reality to the appearance, and is the very negation of the appearance.

We can thus directly see the illusory character of both sleep and wakefulness :—

(*a*) They are formed simultaneously, but appear as successive with their own respective durations.

(*b*) The consciousness, which knows sleep in the form 'I was asleep,' and knows wakefulness in the form 'I am awake,' never really slept and never really woke. It does not pass through the states and is not affected by them. It is the states that may be said to pass *in it.*

16. Two main forms of illusion.

There is an illusion of the world based upon the intellect or *buddhi* in wakefulness. Thought here creates the illusion. The world is only idea appearing as independent reality. There is another illusion where thought, with all its activities associated with waking life, is itself part of the illusion. This illusion demands for its ground pure consciousness itself. The illusion of the states of sleep and wakefulness is such an illusion. One fundamental and stateless consciousness appears wrongly to be identified, successively, with the states in question, or to pass through them.

17. Consciousness is not objectless in sleep.

Certain misconceptions require to be corrected in this connection. It is not argued by us that since in sleep no object is known there is only pure consciousness. That would be like putting the cart before the horse, or supporting the supporter. Where is sleep, that there shoud be consciousness *in it* ? It is just the other way. It is in pure consciousness that there is an appearance of sleep.

18. Sleep is not a state of temporary mokṣa.

Again, it is not argued by us that because in sleep there is no duality of

any kind, the same is indistinguishable from *mokṣa*, or that sleep is a state of temporary *mokṣa* (*final freedom*), which is a contradiction in terms. What is contended is that sleep can only be what it appears to be, a vacuum of all experience and as the negation of waking life. More than that. It can only appear as an interval between two waking states. When I wake up, I carry my memory back to the earlier or the last wakefulness and intuit sleep as an interruption in the continuity of waking life. Similarly, the last wakefulness presupposes prior sleep, and so on. Thus, there is a necessary alternation (*paryāya*) of the two. Their very form requires it. Analogically, the same alternation is true of birth and death, which we can only conceive after the form of wakefulness and sleep. It is the ground alone that represents true *mokṣa* or true immortality. If, however, we do not keep sleep as an *object* or as an *appearance*, necessarily *correlative* in character, but make of it a real state unrelated to anything, where its objectivity is completely lost, what distinction can the opponent of our view make between such a real state and what is called *mokṣa*? An endless sleep of that sort would be qualitatively indistinguishable from *mokṣa*.

19. Why we are obliged to go beyond ignorance, but not beyond error or illusion.

So far we have tried to show that ignorance in any form is only an appearance, illusory in character. But even if we do not subscribe to this view and the analysis on which it is based, and regard ignorance as the ultimate cause of all illusions, certain things about it will have to be admitted in any case.

(*a*) If original ignorance (*mūla-avidyā*) is not to involve dualism, it must be illusory itself. As an appearance, correlative to the saving knowledge, it can be thus understood. Without the correlation, it will be something real, even if it could be experienced by the pure consciousness. Firstly because, this consciousness can make no mistake. It is a principle of pure revelation without distorting what it reveals. Secondly because, something that is unrelated (*nirapekṣa*), will have no appearance of an object, and will be the very *absolute*.

(*b*) If *mūla-avidyā* is illusory, it never really was at any time. Its very beginninglessness is part of its false appearance. In other words, there never was any ignorance and never any knowledge which dispelled it. Both are just part of the some illusory appearance to a liberated soul. This is *ajāta-vāda* in all its purity,— the view that nothing was ever created or made.

(*c*) If ignorance itself is illusory, it cannot be an explanation of all illusions. It cannot be prior to them taken as a whole. It is erroneous

perception or *adhyāsa* that is at the basis of ignorance, and explains its appearance as object of any kind.

(*d*) This, in its turn, means that *māyā* is the more inclusive term. It alone can be said to bring out the dual function of *ajñāna*, the power to conceal and the power to misrepresent (*āvaraṇa-śakti* and *nikṣepa-śakti*).

20. *The starting-point for the knowledge of Brahman is adhyāsa, not ignorance.*

Our starting point for philosophical knowledge or *Brahma-jñāna* is not ignorance, but the evil that comes through finitisation or *adhyāsa* of the Self and the not-Self. Ignorance can do us no harm, if it were like the ignorance of a dreamless slumber. But our finitisation, the result of *adhyāsa* is the source of all evil. It is because of this *adhyāsa*, that ignorance itself appears in me and becomes an evil of life. Ignorance cannot possibly appear and produce its effects in *Brahman*, free from *adhyāsa* of the Self and the not-Self and, therefore free, from the sense of finitude. *Brahman* will remain on one side, and ignorance will remain on the other, and any relation between the two in the form 'I am ignorant' will not emerge. The two methods of knowledge, both positive (*tat-tvam-asi*) and the negative (*neti, neti*) start with this *adhyāsa*, and seek to get beyond it to the reality that is free from error. In this connection, it is to be noted that *Brahman* is not in-itself a *fit object* for knowledge, being no object at all. But it becomes a fit object, once it is confused or identified with an object such as the body. The elimination of all objectivity takes us straight to the *own nature* of reality (*svarūpa*). In this sense, error is the way to truth, not ignorance. We correct the error, and reality reveals itself for what it is. We interpret quite literally S'ri S'aṅkarācārya's statement in his introduction to the commentary on the *Brahma-sūtrās* that the mutual confusion (*paraspara-adhyāsa*) of the Self and the not-Self is what learned people call *ajñāna*.

21. *Can error be eliminated, while ignorance remains ?*

A point is sometimes made that error can be corrected without knowledge of reality, while ignorance is only dispelled through such knowledge. We can know, for instance, through inference or other methods what reality is not. But we may not know what reality positively is. This ignorance can only be dispelled through direct, immediate and complete knowledge of reality. Ignorance is, therefore, the final term, not error. Ignorance is the root cause of all evil. It alone demands for its removal the highest kind of knowledge, the direct knowledge of *Brahman* or *aparokṣa-anubhūti*. Error on the other hand can be removed, while ignorance still remains ; and as long an ignorance remains, error is always possible.

This argument appears to be valid in the empirical field where *direct* and *absolutely certain* knowledge is not possible. The only direct knowledge we have is perceptual; and perceptual knowledge is always open to error. This error can be corrected by another perception or by inference. The result is that while we correct one piece of knowledge by another, ignorance of reality still remains. An old scientific law ceases to satisfy, and we replace it by another and a better formulation of the truth. Here, we might say, one error is corrected by another; for the attainment of truth is an endless process. But if inference cannot give us the ultimate truth, can perception do so? The illusions of perception are often corrected by inference. What is quite certain is that no piece of knowledge, on the basis of which we correct an earlier error, is itself quite free from error. Shall we say that there is real correction of error or only a substitution of one error for another? Is there not an *illusion of correction*? A falsehood can only be corrected by truth; and truth is unavailable in the empirical sphere.

The error with which we are concerned in Vedānta is the error of empirical knowledge as such. Can this error be corrected by another piece of empirical knowledge? Evidently not. It can only be corrected by a higher kind of knowledge which admits of no error. A different kind of knowledge is demanded, more direct and certain than any that we have. It alone can dissolve a direct illusion in respect of *Brahman*. We perceive *Brahman* as the world. How can this illusion go? It cannot go through any kind of inferential knowledge. We have no inferential knowledge of *Brahman*. Inference is necessarily based upon perception; and *Brahman* is never perceived. There is only one kind of knowledge of *Brahman*, and that is the indivisible knowledge of unity indicated in the statement 'thou art that.' This knowledge alone can cancel the illusion of the world. There is absolutely no difference between ignorance and error in this respect. Both are terminated by the same knowledge. Where then is the reason for the primacy of ignorance over error?

Impediments to Universalhood

(Jāti-bādhakas)[1]

By

SATKARI MOOKERJEE, *Calcutta.*

The philosophers of the Nyāya-Vais'eṣika school are realists in the fullest connotation of the term. According to them the content of a cognition must be objectively and independently real in every case. Even abnormal cognitions, e.g. error and dream, are not exceptions to this rule. The contents of these experiences are equally real like those of veridical cognitions. Pursuant to this dictum the philosophers of this school postulate the reality of an objective class-character to account for the synthetic reference of common names. The 'cow' denotes not any particular individual but all the individual animals belonging to this class. In spite of their differences the individuals are referrred to by a common concept and a common name, and this can be accounted for by postulating an identical synthesizing principle uniformly existing in the different individuals. This synthesizing principle is called *jāti* or *sāmānya*, which we propose to render as universal. A universal may be tentatively defined as an attribute which is inherent without being possessed of a universal and is other than the ultimate characteristic of eternal substances. But this definition does not reflect the requirements of the logical situation which calls for this conception. A universal is a common attribute and as such must occur in more than one individual. It is the necessity of common conception and common appellation that leads to the presupposition of the universal. So the universal must be defined as an eternal attribute which inheres in more than one individual. The adjective 'eternal' is a corollary of the concept of unity and identity of the universal which can be one only if it be immune from the vicissitudes of birth and death of the substrates in which it occurs.

1. The sources referred to are as under :—
   - (i) Kiraṇāvalī in the *Bhāṣāpariccheda-siddhāntamuktāvalī*, s.v , kar. *8*

     'व्यक्तेर्भेदस्तुल्यत्वं संकरोऽथाऽनवस्थितिः । रूपहानिरसम्बन्धो जातिबाधकसंग्रहः ॥'
   - (ii) Dinakarī, com., *ibid.*
   - (iii) Rāmarudrī, super-com., *ibid.*
   - (iv) *Khaṇdakhaṇdkhādya* of Yas'ovijayasūri, p. 268
   - (v) Aṣṭas'atīvṛtti, *s v* s'l. 76
   - (vi) *Citsukhī* & *Nayanaprasādinī*, pp. 127-8
   - (vii) The introduction to the English translation of the *Bhāṣāpariccheda-siddhāntamuktāvalī* by Swāmī Madhavānanda by the present writer.

Now, all the synthesizing attributes are not regarded as universals. The Jaina postulates two types of common attributes which they call 'vertical' (*ūrdhva*) and horizontal (*tiryak*) The individuality of a real which is not affected by the differences of the change of states and qualities so far as its unity is concerned, is looked upon as a synthesizing principle of the first kind. This underlying unity in the individual is not regarded as a universal by the philosophers of the Nyāya-Vais'eṣika school, because it lacks the condition of plurality of denotation. The denotation must be more than one to make the universal function as a synthesizing principle. There can be no universal if the denotation consists of one individual only. This is regarded as the first impediment to the incidence of the universal.

The identity of denotation though consisting of a plurality is equally a bar to the concurrence of co-equal universals. The issue is whether there can be more than one universal in one class consisting of the same members. Thus there may be different terms for one and the same denotation and the Sanskrit language is rich in synonyms. The difference of the verbal expression does not entail the difference of the universal. Thus *ghaṭa* and *kalaśa* both mean pitcher and thus have the same denotation. The very fact that an indefinite number of vessels is called by the same name and thought of by the same concept logically entails the postulation of a universal. But does the difference of names justify the postulation of different universals ? The answer is 'No'. The difference of name is a verbal one and even if a difference in concept were conceded which is quite improbable, that would not also justify the existence of more than one objective universal. The latter may be called jar-hood or pitcher-hood. But despite the verbal difference, the numerical identity remains intact.

The third condition regarding the coincidence of a plurality of universals is that they must be related as higher and lower, i.e. the extension of the one must be included in that of the other. This rule is regarded by the philosophers of this school as universally and unconditionally binding. If it is found that two synthesizing principles coincide in one substratum without being related as higher and lower, they must be denied the status of universal. The coincidence of two such independent synthesizing attributes in the same substratum is called *saṅkara* and this operates as a bar to the incidence of a universal. The consequence is that neither is regarded as a universal. All cases or cross-division are indicative of the coincidence of two such synthesizing attributes. The typical example of this coincidence is furnished by the character of being an element (*bhūtatva*) and that of possessing limited dimension (*mūrtatva*). The elements are five, *viz.* earth, water, fire, air and ether. These elements have a common character which may be defined as possession of a specific quality cognisable by an external sense. Thus odour,

specific taste and colour, hot touch, touch neither hot nor cold and sound are the respective specific qualities of the elements and they are all externally perceivable. This common character may be called element-hood. Now, the first four elements are also possessed of another common character, viz. limited dimension, which they share in common with the mind regarded as atomic in size. These latter five substances may be grouped together on the basis of this common attribute. But the mind which falls in this group is not an element. The generic character of limited dimension and that of element-hood are found to be mutually independent in their incidence in as much as element-hood subsists in ether independently of limited dimension which again subsists in the mind independent of element-hood. But these two generic attributes are found in the first four elements, each of them being an element and possessed of limited dimension. But these generic attributes are not regarded as universals.

Now, the question arises : Why should these generic attributes be denied the status of universal, when each of them successfully performs the function of a synthesizing principle ? And as we noted at the outset the synthetic function is the pre-eminent character of universals. Besides, the admission of such generic attributes to the rank of universals does not spell any absurdity. Of course, this would infringe the condition laid down regarding the relation of coincident universals, viz. that they should be related as higher and lower. But what is the logical sanction behind the rule ? Udayana contends that if two mutually independent universals were to coincide then cow-hood and horse-hood also would be capable of being coincident. This would make the distinction of the cow from the horse impossible or precarious. It may be urged that these latter universals are mutually opposed to each other and so their coincidence is impossible. But what is the source of this knowledge of opposition ? If it is experience, that cannot be regarded as an infallible guarantee that there will be no case in future in which the universals would not coincide. Of course, we have not come across any such instance during the course of our experience. But what is the guarantee that the future will resemble the past ? This contingency can be avoided only if the *a priori* validity of the rule governing the relation of coincident universals be endorsed without a qualification.

But the Vedāntists and a section of the Naiyāyikas do not endorse the validity of this rule. The relationship of the generic attributes is to be accepted from the testimony of experience. Three types of generic attributes can be distinguished in so far as their relationship is taken into consideration. Firstly, there are generic attributes which are mutually exclusive and repellent in character, e.g. cow-hood and horse-hood. These two types are as sharply opposed as a square and a circle are and as such we cannot conceive their

coincidence without repugnance. Secondly, between two of which one is found to have independent incidence, while other is not, e. g. jar-hood and substance-hood. Thirdly, there are some other generic attributes which are partially exclusive and partially coincident. The first and second types are regarded as universals. The controversy centres round the third. The synthesizing function is, however, present in all the three types and on this basis the first two types are accorded the status of universal. Now, when independent incidence is not insisted upon as the condition of universals on the analogy of cow-hood and horse-hood and partial exclusion by one of the other in the coincidence of higher and lower universals is not regarded as a bar against their being universals, there seems no earthly reason why there should be opposition with regard to the third type on the ground of partial exclusion by one another. The lumping of the first type with the third type is not justifiable as the analogy between them is rather flimsy. There can be no coincidence of totally exclusive universals like cow-hood and horse-hood, since they can exist only in different substrata. The coincidence of two partially exclusive universals does not entail a split in the locus like the former and so stands in a different category. If partial exclusion of the one by the other be no bar, as exemplified in the second type, there seems no reason why two mutually partially exclusive universals should not coincide when both the cases are equally ratified by experience.

Let us now consider the fourth impediment, viz. *regressus ad infinitum.* The Buddhists have made enormous capital out of this situation in support of their contention that synthetic operation can be exercised by individuals alone without being informed by a universal. The different universals, viz. horse-hood, cow-hood, etc are numerically and constitutionally different, and yet they are comprehended by one concept and called by one name, viz. universal. These universals, however, behave like individual members of a class, and this would make the postulation of a wider universal a logical necessity, as is the case with individual cows and horses. If different universals can be referred to by a common concept and a name without being informed by a higher universal comprehending the plurality of universals in its scope, there is no *a priori* logical necessity for positing universals over and above the individuals to account for their combination in a common class. If, however, a higher universal be posited to synthesize the universals under one class, the result will be a vicious infinite series. The higher universal will be a universal none the less, and though it may synthesize the proximate universals, it will require a still higher universal to synthesize itself with the other universals. But the second higher universal will be in the same predicament and thus would necessitate a third higher universal which will remain unsynthesized without a fourth. The process will have no end and a vicious *regressus ad infinitum* will be the result. This difficulty makes the postulation of a higher universal

over and above the indefinite number of individual universals an impossibility.

The charge of the Bhuddhists that there can be a synthesizing function without an objective synthesizing principle governing them is, however, wide of the mark. It is not denied that the different universals have a common synthesizing principle governing them. But it is not a universal and so does not give rise to the fallacy of infinite regress. It is an objective principle no doubt, but because of its intrinsic difference from the universals it synthesizes it is called by another name, viz *upādhi*, a non-universal synthetic principle which does not require inherence to be related to the denotation like a universal.

Let us now consider the fifth impediment, viz. the necessity of forfeiture of specific character. The philosophers of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school lay down the rule that one entity can be distinguished from the other entity by means of a specific characteristic. Now, souls emancipated from bondage of phenomenal existence are believed to become destitute of specific qualities. The attributes of one such soul as compared with another are absolutely similar. But because they are numerically different they must be distinguished from one another. Since there is no distinguishing quality in such emancipated souls they can be distinguished only by means of some other attribute. This distinguishing attribute is called ultimate characteristic of eternal substances. So also with regard to atoms of the same class in their free state. Thus water-atoms and earth-atoms are homogeneous with regard to the members of the same class and as such cannot apparently be differentiated from one another by means of a characteristic which it does not share with others. They are distinguished by the possession of this ultimate characteristic alone which is peculiar to each of them and numerically different in each case. These eternal substances again can be distinguished by their ultimate characteristics provided the latter are capable of distinguishing themselves from the ultimate characteristics of other substances. Thus the postulation of ultimate characteristics of eternal substances in their ultimate state of existence and of their self-differentiating capacity is entailed by an inescapable logical necessity.

Now, the number of ultimate characteristics is practically infinite and the common concept and name appertaining to them would necessitate the postulation of a common universal. But this is not possible because of the logical difficulties it entails. If the ultimate characteristics were possessed of a universal, they would not be self-distinguished. We have seen that these ultimate characteristics must be self-distinguished as the postulation of other differentiating characteristics would make infinite regress inescapable. So the self-distinctive character of these characteristics must be admitted under pain of absurdity. It is common knowledge that an entity possessed of a universal is distinguished from another by means of the universal or some other

characteristic. In no event such entities are self-distinguished. The postulation of a universal in the different ultimate characteristics would also make them subject to the rule of being differentiated by other characteristics. In other words, they would cease to be self-distinguished. But self-distinction is the very life of these ultimate characteristics. If they forfeit this character, they would not be what they are believed to be. So the absurdity involved in the forfeiture of its essential character, which follows as the consequence of the postulation of a universal, makes them remain as absolute particulars.

There is another absurdity which is entailed by the admission of universal in these ultimate characteristics. If there be a common universal inhering in the several characteristics, it is quite possible that between two such characteristics the common universal may be cognised and their specific character may be ignored, and thus a doubt may arise regarding their numerical difference. This doubt could be resolved only by the cognition of the specific characteristics of one or the other. But the same logical necessity would make the postulation of another universal regarding these latter characteristics an irresistible conclusion. But the admission of a universal would make the second characteristic also liable to doubt and confusion for the removal of which we should be compelled to fall back upon another distinguishing characteristic and another universal in like manner. So the consequence of infinite regress also makes the postulation of a universal an absurdity so far as the ultimate characteristics are concerned.

Let us now consider the last impediment, viz. impossibility of relation between the supposed universal with the relevant denotation. It is this hurdle which precludes the postulation of universals in non-existence and inherence, the two metaphysical categories admitted by the school. According to the general consensus of opinion inherence is regarded as a numerically identical entity. So the question of its universal is disposed of by the first impediment. But there are others who subscribe to a plurality of inherences and in their view the question of the universal becomes pertinent. Now, the relation between a universal and the individual is one of inherence. If inherencehood were assumed to be a universal, its relation to the individual inherences would be nothing but inherence which becomes absolutely unavailable in the case under consideration. Inherencehood as a universal is *ex hypothesi* thought to be immanent in all the individual cases of inherence and there is no other inherence left over which can serve as the connecting link between the universal and the individuals concerned. The assumption of an extra inherence to serve as the connecting link would only shift the problem to a further stage. The extra inherence introduced *ad hoc* must come under the jurisdiction of inherencehood as the common universal and the question of their relation would present the same difficulty.

The assumption of an unwonted relation between the inherence-universal and the individual inherences would only serve to prove that inherence is not the necessary relation between a universal and the relevant individuals. The new relation assumed to obtain between inherence-universal and individual inherences would do duty for inherence in all cases. So there would be no *raison d'etre* for inherence as an independent category Moreover, the substitution of a new relation for inherence would not improve the situation in the least. The new relation will be subject to all the incidents of inherence and the same problem will arise in a different guise.

As for the universal relating to non-existence the problem assumes a different form. Four types of non-existence are admitted by the school and so the logical necessity of a synthesizing principle to justify their grouping under a common head is undeniably present. The admission of a non-existence-universal cannot presumably be supposed to founder on the score of relation. The relation may be inherence as such which is admittedly the governing relation of universal and individuals. It may be urged that inherence only holds between two positive entities only and so it cannot be available as the connecting link between non-existence and the supposed universal. But this cannot be made a rule against the present case. If non-existence-universal be admitted it must be supposed to be related to the relevant individuals by means of inherence. There is no such absurdity in the supposition as has been encountered in the case of supposed inherence-universal. So the plea of the impossibility and unavailability of inherence as a relation does not invalidate the conception of non-existence-universal.

In reply to this contention the philosophers of the school assert that the charge of absence of inherence does not rest upon the intrinsic impossibility of the relation of inherence as such, but upon a concomitant circumstance. It is a matter of universal experience that the inherence of the universal is concomitant with the inherence of an attribute other than the inhering universal. Let us illustrate this rule by a concrete instance. Cow-hood is a universal but it inheres in the cows along with other attributes, viz. substance-hood, quality or action. Even in the case of qualities and actions which admit only of the inherence of universals, the inherence of one universal is found to be concomitant with that of other universals It is never found to be the case that a particular universal is the only inherent attribute in a substratum. Now this should be accepted as the law regarding the incidence of universals in their relevant denotation.

In the case under consideration the supposed non-existence-universal would inhere in different instances of non-existence. But no attribute other than this universal can be supposed to inhere in the relevant denotation. In pursuance of the law formulated above the incidence of non-existence-universal

would be ruled out of court. And thus the default of the kind of relation necessary for the incidence of universal stultifies the hypothesis of non-existence-universal.

It may be urged that if the law formulated above be accepted as the bar to the universals, then the postulation of infinite regress as an impediment to universalhood would become redundant. The inherence of a higher universal in the lower universals can be effectively barred by this law inasmuch as no other attribute except the higher universal can possibly exist in the universals sought to be synthesized by the former. So the absence of concomitance of the universal with other attributes by way of inherence would effectively refute the claim of the supposed synthesizing universal to the status of a universal.

The advocate of this law has to concede the justice and plausibility of the aforesaid contention. But he maintains in defence of his position that as the law is empirical in character and deduced from the study of the relation of universals in their concrete setting, it requires to be stated in strict conformity with the nature of the universals under consideration. The non-existence-universal could inhere in non-existences which do not as a matter of fact inhere in any other substratum. It would thus stand on a par with those universals which pertain to the entities that are not inherent in any other substance. So the condition that the inherence of a universal must not be concomitant with that of other attributes should be clarified in conformity with the situation by the qualification of the universal as one which occurs in a substratum which is not inherent in any other substratum. In other words, the law of concomitant inherence governs only those universals which occur in non-inherent substrata. Eternal substances are self-subsistent in the sense that they do not inhere in any other substratum. The universal of such substances, e.g self-hood, existence, etc. are instances in point. Thus the postulation of a higher universal in relation to the universals of this description can be effectively barred by this law alone. With regard to the other universals the contingency of the incidence of a higher universal can be precluded by the fourth impediment only and thus the latter is not redundant.

One may complain that the justification of the last impediment and the fourth impediment from the charge of redundancy is secured by a device which seems to be inspired by after-thought. The qualification of the universal as one pertaining to a non-inherent substratum rather savours of an argument of despair advanced by a man brought to bay. But in spite of its awkward look the argument has the merit of consonance with the circumstances of the case under consideration. If, however, simplicity and prospect of easy intelligibility be preferred, we may interpret the impossibility of relation as the impossibility of inherence in an existent substratum. The hypothesis of non-existence-

universal can thus be easily rebutted by the impossibility of its inherence in an existent substratum. The non-existence-universal, if possible at all, could exist in non-existence alone. And as the relation of inherence is accepted to be possible in an existent substratum, it would not be available for the non-existence-universal. Thus the impossibility and unavailability of inherence as a relation would make the assumption of non-existence-universal a logical impossibility.

To sum up : Universals are from the very nature of the case bound to be synthesizing principles. But the converse of the proposition is not true. Only those synthesizing principles can have the character of universals which are not disqualified by any one of these impediments. The problem of impediments is, therefore, essentially connected with that of universals and must be studied in order to make the knowledge of universals free from confusion.

Mādhava, An Early Unfaithful Exponent of the Sāṅkhya

By

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Early Sāṅkya was characterised by a large variety of doctrines, Paramārtha mentioning no less than eighteen schools of Sāṅkhya. Īśvarakṛṣṇa's work not only swallowed all the earlier literature but also codified the system into some homogeneity. The glimpses that we have of the early Sāṅkhya authorities, Kapila, Āsuri, Pañcaśikha, Vārṣagaṇya, Jaigiṣavya and Vindhyavāsin, as also the views in the Yoga-Sūtras, Aśvaghoṣa, Caraka and the Great Epic, show a considerable body of divergent views.[1] While, on one side, following a common law in the history of Sanskrit literature, the compendious *Kārikās* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa threw into oblivion all the earlier literature, the system itself was soon absorbed and rendered superfluous by both the theistically oriented epic version and the Vedānta. The reconstruction of the early history of Sāṅkhya and the views of its different exponents becomes thus a very interesting work. Mādhava, of whose contribution and its peculiar nature we shall speak here, is one of the little known celebrities of this early history of Sāṅkhya.

Uṁveka makes an interesting reference to him in his commentary on the Ślokavārttika,[2] from which it appears that Mādhava is presupposed by Kumārila himself. The reference occurs under the *Codanā Sūtra* during the course of the discussion that the scriptural injunction or interdiction alone is authority for determining *dharma* and *adharma* and not any inference, such as the one based on the apparent good or injury relating from an act. According to Uṁveka, the subsection beginning from verse 231 under the *Codanā Sūtra* is directed against the Sāṅkhya who does not accept the scriptural authority and opposes Vedic sacrifices as being on a par with any mundane act of injury (*hiṁsā*). After showing that neither benefit to another nor injury to him is criterion for *dharma* or *adharma*, but the injunction or interdiction of the Veda alone is, Kumārila considers the view of a clever opponent who said that it was not on the basis of any inference that he considered the Vedic sacrifice as *adharma*, that he considered the Vedic *vidhi-niṣedha* as the competent authority in this respect and that as the Veda prohibited *hiṁsā* and it could not draw a line between one kind of *hiṁsā* and another or remove

1. See E. H. Johnston · *Early Sāṅkhya*, London.
2. Madras University Sanskrit Series, p. 112.

the injurious nature in one case by its *vidhi*, the Vedic sacrifice too should be considered to be *adharma*. Now, Uṁveka introduces this view as that of a *leader of Sāñkhya thought* (Sāñkhya-nāyaka), by name *Mādhava.*

सांख्यनायकमाधवस्त्वाह—विहायानुमानादीन् विधिप्रतिषेधनिबन्धनत्वमेव धर्माधर्मयोरवलम्ब्य अग्नीषोमीयादिष्वधर्मतामाह क्वचिदिति श्लोकत्रयेण × × × हिंसा नाम तावदेका व्यक्तिस्त्रैलोक्येऽपि, तस्माच्च क्वचिल्लोके ब्रह्महत्यादिषु "न हिंस्यात्सर्वाणि भूतानि" इति प्रतिषेधादनिष्टसाधनत्वशक्तिरवगमिता; न च प्रतिहता इदानीम्; विधेयेष्वग्नीषोमीयादिषु हिंसाया अविशेषान्नापगच्छति × × × अतः सर्वशास्त्रानुसारादेव हिंसादीनामधर्मत्वं कल्प्यते न पुनरनुमानत इति स्थितमग्नीषोमीयादिष्वधर्मत्वम् ।

There are two references to this Mādhava in Jinendrabuddhi's gloss Viśālāmalavati on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* of Diṅnāga (ch. I)[3] from which it is seen that this Sāñkhya writer was earlier than Diṅnāga himself who presupposes him. Here again, Mādhava is seen to hold a peculiar view. From verse 28 onwards, Diṅnāga proceeds to criticise the Sāñkhya conception of *pratyakṣa* or sensory perception and the nature of sense and its object; in this context, the gloss of Jinendrabuddhi (on verse 31) says that, as against Kapila, Mādhava held that the nature of *sukha* etc. differed in every case : कपिलादयो मन्यन्ते सुखादीनां स्वरूपं सर्वत्र एकमेव । माधवस्तु तानि सर्वत्र भिद्यन्त इति । Jinendrabuddhi says again under verse 34 : माधवपक्षादस्य न्यूनदोषत्वादित्येवमुक्तमिति न दोषः ।

A third text where we have a very significant reference to Mādhava is Karṇakagomin's gloss on Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika*;[4] from Karṇakagomin we learn that the reading in Uṁveka's gloss on Kumārila, *Sāñkhya-nāyaka* is really corrupt and that Mādhava was really not a '*leader* of Sāñkhya thought, Sāñkhya-*nāyaka*', but a Sāñkhya-*nāśaka*, 'a *destroyer* of Sāñkhya.' During his examination of the conception of verbal testimony such as of the Veda and of the conception of an '*āpta*', the trustworthy person whose word (*śabda*) is an authority (*pramāṇa*), Dharmakīrti says that the view that the Veda or its interpretation has had the transmission from mouth to mouth in an unbroken manner rests solely on the conventional and customary belief within a group of persons, and it is quite possible that corrupters, out of self-importance, inner dislike or the vile satisfaction of vandalism, had misrepresented the tradition :

अपि च वेदस्तद्व्याख्यानं वा पुरुषेण पुरुषायोपदिश्यमानमनष्टसम्प्रदायमेवानुवर्तत इत्यत्रापि समयः स(श?)रणम् । आगमभ्रंशकारिणामाहोपुरुषिकया तद्दर्शनविद्वेषेण वा तत्प्रतिपन्नखलीकरणाय धूर्तव्यसनेन अन्यतो वा कुतश्चित् कारणाद् अन्यथारचनासम्भवात् ।

When explaining the above, Karṇakagomin says that for misrepresentation, there is the example of Mādhava who ruined the Sāñkhya by expounding it in

3. Edn. H. R. R. Iyengar, Mysore, pp. 77, 80.
4. BORS edn. by Rahual Sankrityayana, p. 595.

an unfaithful manner : आगमभ्रंशकारिणामित्यादिना सम्प्रदायविच्छेदेन रचनान्तरसम्भवमेव समर्थयते । आगमभ्रंशकारिणां पुंसामन्यथा । पूर्वरचनावैपरीत्येन रचनादर्शनादिति सम्बन्धः । अन्यथा रचनायां कारणमाह । आहोपुरुषिकयेत्यादि । आहोपुरुषिकयेत्यहंमानित्वेन । यथा सांख्यनाशकमाधवेन सांख्यसिद्धान्तस्यान्यथा रचनं कृतम् । तद्दर्शनविद्वेषेण वान्यथा रचनासम्भवात् । '*Sāñkhya-nāśaka*' is thus a badge of notriety gained by Mādhava for the *s'alya-sārathya* he did for the Sāñkhya system.

Corroboration of the existence of an early Sāñkhya writer of this name comes from Hieun-Tsiang who mentions in his Travels[5] that in Magadha was a monastery dedicated to the Buddhist teacher Guṇamati, "who here vanquished in discussion the great Sāñkhya Doctor Mādhava". It is significant to note in this connection that Guṇamati[6] wrote what is called the *Lakṣaṇānuśāstra* which Paramārtha rendered into the Chinese about 560 A. D., a text which shows "an intimate acquaintance with the Sāñkhya teachings".

5. T. Watters : *On Yuan Chevang's Travels in India*, London, Vol. II, pp. 108-9.

6. "One Sthiramati was a pupil of Guṇamati and lived before 425 A. D." Winternitz: *History of Indian Literature*, Calcutta University, Vol. II, p. 362, fn. 3.

Arthavādas

By

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The Vedas are classified into *mantras* and *brāhmaṇas.*[1] The *mantras* are so well-known among the Vedic scholars by their name itself, and they are mostly prayers. The rest are called the *brāhmaṇas*[2]. They have two divisions, namely (1) *vidhis* and *niṣedhas*- injunctions and prohibitions, and (2) *arthavādas* –their supplementary portions that praise and condemn the enjoined and prohibited things respectively. The *arthavādas* are classified into three groups, namely (1) *guṇavāda*- which speaks of something that goes against our ordinary experience, (2) *anuvāda*- which repeats what has already been experienced, and (3) *bhūtārthavāda*- which deals with things which are unknown and which may be taken to be true.[3]

The *Pūrvamīmāṁsā sūtra,* **चोदनालक्षणोऽर्थो धर्मः** (I 1.2) explains that the entire Vedic text including *codanās*–injunctions is the authority on *dharma*, The *Autpattikādhikaraṇa* (I.1.5) on the basis of the eternity of *śabda*, of its meaning, viz. the generality, and of their relation, viz. **वाच्यवाचकभाव**, has established that the entire Vedic text is eternal and that it is a self-revelation and as such self-valid authority on *dharma*. The *Apauruṣeyatvādhikaraṇa* (I 1.8) again establishes that the entire Vedas are not composed by any person and as such are free from the personal defects that are found in human speech.[4]

It is true that the Vedic injunctions (*codanās*) which enjoin various sacrifices like *Agnihotra* become authorities on *dharma* since those sacrifices are not known as the causes of the divine bliss–*svarga* by any other valid authority. But how do *arthavādas* which, as explained above, speak of things some of which are contradicted by our experiences in the world (**स्तेनं मनः**) and some of which are mere repetitions of our outside experience (**अग्निर्हिमस्य भेषजम्**)? A

1. Cf. मन्त्रब्राह्मणात्मको वेदः ।
2. तच्चोदकेषु मन्त्राख्या, शेषे ब्राह्मणशब्दः ।
3. विरोधे गुणवादस्स्यादनुवादोऽवधारिते ।
भूतार्थवादस्तद्धानादर्थवादस्त्रिधा मतः ॥
4. (*a*) वेदः अपौरुषेयः, अस्मर्यमाणकर्तृकत्वात्; यन्नैवं तन्नैवं यथा रघुवंशादिः ।
(*b*) वेदः अस्मर्यमाणकर्तृकः, नित्याध्ययनविषयत्वात् ।
(*c*) वेदस्याध्ययनं सर्वं गुर्वध्ययनपूर्वकम् ।
वेदाध्ययनसामान्यादधुनाध्ययनं यथा ॥

valid authority is that which reveals a thing not experienced by any other authority or not contradicted by other valid experience.[5] The sūtrakāra opens the *Arthavādādhikaraṇa* (I.2.1) where he proposes to establish the authoritativeness of *arthavādas* on *dharma* as follows :—

आम्नायस्य क्रियार्थत्वादानर्थक्यमतदर्थानां तस्मादनित्यमुच्यते ।

the entire Veda conveys a *kriyā*, viz., *bhāvanā* which has three *aṁśas* or constituent elements–*sādhya* (fruit), *sādhana* (cause) and *itikartavyatā* (the accessories closely associated with the main cause).[6] Since the *arthavādas* do not convey any idea which can be related to this *bhāvanā* under any of these three constituent elements, they are to be declared as unauthoritative on *dharma*. So what has been established by the *Vedāpauruṣeyatvādhikaraṇa*, viz. that the entire Veda is the authority on *dharma* cannot be explained in the *arthavāda* passages. So the *prāmāṇya* established in (I.1.8) is optional (*anitya*) only ; that is, just like the *vidhi* and *niṣedha* passages it cannot be spoken of in the *arthavāda* passages. So the syllogism :

सर्वोऽपि वेदः धर्मे प्रमाणम्, अपौरुषेयत्वात् स्वाध्यायविधिपरिगृहीतत्वाच्च

is fallacious since the same cannot be spoken of in certain parts of the Veda namely the *arthavādas*.[7] If they do not convey a new idea by the primary significative potency, *abhidhā*, shall we not apply the secondary significative potency, *lakṣaṇā*, on some sense connected with *vidhi* or *pratiṣedha* to which they are the supplementary texts ? Then the question comes–what is the authority or condition for *lakṣaṇā*, is it *anvayānupapatti* or *tātparyānupapatti* ? The former cannot be explained in many *arthavāda* passages like वायुर्वै क्षेपिष्ठा देवता' since they explain the well-known idea that the wind-god travels very quickly and as such would bring also very soon the fruit of the sacrifice to the sacrificer etc. The latter also cannot be accepted in view of the fact that there is no sufficiently strong authority (तात्पर्यग्राहकप्रमाण) to indicate the ultimate aim that these *arthavādas* should convey some sense which is directly or indirectly related to *dharma*. It is argued that the *svādhyāyavidhi* 'स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः' which enjoins the study of the Vedas for the sake of knowledge which would ultimately lead the student to eternal bliss,[8] is the authority तात्पर्यग्राहकप्रमाण, since under *svādhyāya* along with the *vidhi*, *pratiṣedha* and *mantra*, the *arthvādas* are also included as the texts to be studied by the Vedic student. This explanation of the *svādhyāyavidhi* is not accepted by the objector (पूर्वपक्षिन्). He says that the *adhyayana* of the Vedic

5. अनधिगताबाधितार्थविषयज्ञानजनकं प्रमाणम् ।
6. साध्यसाधनेतिकर्तव्यताविशिष्टभावनाप्रतिपादकत्वम् ।
7. अवच्छेदकावच्छेदेन साध्यानुमितिं प्रति सामानाधिकरण्येन साध्याभावसिद्धिः प्रतिबन्धिका ।
8. प्रयोजनवदर्थज्ञानोद्देशेन स्वाध्यायाध्ययनं विधीयते ।

text need not be enjoined by this *vidhi* for the sake of *arthajñāna*, since every one in this world knows by experience without the Vedic mandate that the study of a particular subject would bring him its full knowledge. Shall we not impose then by means of a *vidhi* (नियमविधि) restriction to the effect that since the causes of knowledge are known too many to be enumerated, only by the prescribed *adhyayana* of the Vedic text by the student under a teacher the knowledge of the Vedic contents is to be acquired ? The main objector answers that this kind of imposing a restriction on the study of the Vedic texts is of no use or significance. In the well-known instances of *niyama vidhi* like 'व्रीहीनवहन्ति' there is the utility of *avahanana* in the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice, the knowledge of which is obtained by *prakaraṇa* (context) and it can be said that *kratvapūrva* will be produced only by *avahanana* and not by any other well-known means of the removal of the chaff of the paddy. In the case of *adhyayana* there is no such *prakaraṇa* to associate it with any sacrifice, because the *svādhyāyavidhi* is *anārabhyādhīta*, i.e. not studied under the *prakaraṇa* of any sacrifice. Nor can it be said that the *adhyayana* or its fruit *arthajñāna* is invariably associated with or utilised in the sacrifice only, as in the instances of पर्णताविधि[9] which is an अनारभ्याधीत and has the invariable connection with and utility in the sacrifice (अव्यभिचरितक्रतुसम्बन्ध) in view of the fact that *arthajñāna* is made use of in the earning of wealth and many other worldly benefits. So the objector argues that the *svādhyāyavidhi* is not a *niyamavidhi*, but is an *apūrvavidhi* enjoining *adhyayana* for the sake of *svarga* by the *viśvajinnyāya*.[10] It can also be said that *śāstra*, the *svādhyāyavidhi*, enjoins *adhyayana* for the sake of *arthajñāna* itself before the operation of the *lokapramāṇa* (लोकतः पूर्वं शास्त्रं प्रवर्तते) since the *pramāṇas* can function in *loka* under limited conditions while *śāstra* works independently. Or the *vidhi* 'स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः' takes *adhyayana* itself as *bhāvya* if it is not known as *iṣṭa* desired or undesirable for man ? The passage अनधीयाना व्रात्या भवन्ति makes us understand that *adhyayana* is *iṣṭa* lest we should fall under the category of *vrātyas*, morally and spiritually condemned people. So the study of the Vedas is to be accomplished under a teacher by the prescribed rules, not for the sake of the knowledge of the Vedic contents leading to the attainment of the final bliss but for *svarga* or for avoiding *vrātyatva* as explained above. The objector concludes, therefore, that the *svādhyāyavidhi* does not enjoin *adhyayana* for the sake of *arthajñāna* and as such it cannot be a तात्पर्यग्राहकप्रमाण for adopting *lakṣaṇā* on these *arthavādas* in the sense of *prāśastya* and *aprāśastya* of the thing enjoined and prohibited respectively.

The *siddhāntin* begins his view by saying that the *svādhyāyavidhi* does not enjoin *adhyayana* for the sake of *svarga* by *viśvajinnyāya* in view

9. यस्य पर्णमयी जुहूर्भवति ।

10. स स्वर्गः स्यात्सर्वान् प्रत्यविशिष्टत्वात् ।

of the fact that a visible fruit (दृष्टफल) like *arthajñāna* can be explained for *adhyayana*. It is generally accepted rule that an *adṛṣṭaphala* (invisible fruit) should not be explained for anything if a *dṛṣṭaphala* is available.[11] The *phala* अर्थज्ञान of this injunction is not the ordinary superficial knowledge of the Vedic texts (यथाश्रुतार्थज्ञान) since this fact is already known from the *mantra* : स्थाणुरयं भारहारः किलाभूत् which praises the man with Vedic knowledge and condemns him without it by comparing him to a pillar which bears the burden ; and the *adhyayana* of the Vedic texts under a teacher is also made compulsory by the *arthavāda* passage condemning the man without the knowledge of the Vedas as a *vrātya*. So the *svādhyāyavidhi* is accepted as enjoining *adhyayana* for the *arthajñāna* which has the ultimate aim (प्रयोजनवत्) to make the Vedic student perform the Vedic sacrifices with the help of this *arthajñāna* and then attain the divine bliss (*abhyudaya* like *svarga*) as the final goal.[12] It can also be said that this *vidhi* enjoins *adhyayana* as a *saṁskāra* for the attainment of *svādhyāya* which is known as *āpyakarma* by the *tavya-pratyaya* in the word अध्येतव्यः ; so the word *svādhyāya* in the *vidhivākya* means by *lakṣaṇā* प्रयोजनवदर्थज्ञानसाधनीभूतस्वाध्याय which is the *uddeśya* of the *vidhi*. Thus it is a *niyamavidhi* and not an *apūrvavidhi*. This *vidhi* enjoins the *adhyayana* of the *svādhyāya* that particular Vedic text that has come down to the Vedic student from the unbroken tradition of his father and his grand-father and others ; and this includes *arthavāda* passages also along with *vidhis* and *mantras* and so some sense associated with the *vidhyartha* is to be explained by *lakṣaṇā* in all *arthavādas* if the literal sense is of no use. In other words, this *svādhyāyavidhi* is the तात्पर्यग्राहकप्रमाण to employ *lakṣaṇā* in the sense of *prāśastya* and *aprāśastya* which can be directly related to *vidhis* and *niṣedhas* respectively, to which these *arthavādas* are the suplementary texts.

The Bhāṭṭamīmāṁsakas explain *vidhi* and *niṣedha* as the chief sense of the potential, imperative and other injunctive suffixes like *tavya-pratyaya* in the affirmative and negative prepositions like स्वर्गकामो यजेत and न कलञ्जं भक्षयेत् ; and these *vidhi* and *niṣedha* are explained as that activity of the Vedic *śabda* or the desire of the speaker (if he is available) who prompts another to do or to abstain from doing a particular thing. This activity or desire is called by different names like *pravartanā* and *nivartanā*, respectively. It is technically known in this *śāstra* as *śabdabhāvanā* in that it belongs to the *śabda* and it generates action in others to do or not to do a particular thing. It has three *aṁśas* or parts *sādhya* (fruit), *sādhana* (cause) and *itikartavyatā* (the accessories of the

11. दृष्टे सम्भवत्यदृष्टकल्पनायोगात् ।

12. प्रयोजनवदर्थज्ञानोद्देशेन स्वाध्यायाध्ययनं विधीयते, प्रयोजनं च अर्थज्ञानेन कर्मानुष्ठानम्, तेन चाभ्युदयप्राप्तिरिति ।

main cause in producing the desired fruit). Since it is *pravartanā*—the activity or the desire of the prompter to produce *pravṛtti*-activity or volition in another, this *pravṛtti* is evidently its *sādhya* or fruit. The *sādhana* should not be taken as the cause of *pravartanā* but it is the cause of the *pravṛtti*, the *sādhya* of *pravartanā*.[13] So the knowledge of the *śabdabhāvanā* which generates *pravṛtti* in the hearer is the *sādhana*. The *itikartavyatā* is the *prāśastyajñāna* and *aprāśastyajñāna* which induce the hearer to act or not to act as the case may be.

This *śabdabhāvanā* otherwise known as *pravartanā* conveyed by the potential suffix, which has three *aṁśas* as explained above, is related to the *pravṛtti* or *kṛti* otherwise known in the *śāstra* as *arthabhāvanā*, the leading concept of verbal cognition conveyed by the personal termination '*ta*' in the example **यजेत स्वर्गकामः**. The one and the same suffix '*ta*' is known as *ākhyāta-pratyaya* and *liṅpratyaya*. So in these two separate capacities **आख्यातत्व** and **लिङ्त्व** as **शक्ततावच्छेदक** it conveys two *bhāvanās* respectively, the *arthabhāvanā* (*pravṛtti*) and the *śabdabhāvanā* (*pravartanā*). The relation of *śabdabhāvanā* to *arthabhāvanā*, the leading concept, is *prayojyaprayojakabhāva*, the relation subsisting between the cause and effect.[14] This *pravṛtti* is not the direct result of the knowledge of *pravartanā*, but it is produced only through the knowledge of *iṣṭasādhanatva*[15], i.e. a thing which one is asked to do is to be known as the cause of the desired fruit. This *iṣṭasādhanatvajñāna* is indispensable for *pravṛtti*. So it is known by *saṁsargamaryādā* since it is included in the body of the relation as **स्वविषयकज्ञानजन्यानुमितिप्रयोज्यत्वसम्बन्ध**, the *pravṛtti* is produced by the inferential knowledge of *iṣṭasādhanatva* which again results from the knowledge of *pravartanā*.[16] The knowledge of *prāśastya* and *aprāśastya* as conveyed by the *arthavādas* would act as stimulants to perform the sacrifices enjoined to or abstaining from the **कलञ्जभक्षण** prohibited. Hence they are authorities on *dharma* in as much as they become the *itikartavyatā* of the *śabdabhāvanā* which enjoins or prohibits a *dharma* or an *adharma*.

The nature of *prāśastya* and *aprāśastya* as conveyed by the *arthavādas* is explained in various ways in the *Pūrvamīmāṁsā* śāstra. Khaṇḍadevamiśra, the founder of the Navya school among Bhāṭṭas, elucidates *prāśastya* and *aprāśastya* as equivalent to *stuti* (praise) and *nindā* (condemnation) which are

13. भावनाकारणत्वं च न भावनोत्पादकत्वेन किन्तु भावनाभाव्यनिष्पादकत्वेन ।

14. स्वप्रयोज्यत्वसम्बन्धेन शब्दभावनाया अर्थभावनायामन्वयः ।

15. प्रवृत्तिं प्रति इष्टसाधनत्वमेव साक्षात्कारणम् ।

16. प्रवर्तनाज्ञानेन इष्टसाधनत्वानुमितिः, यथा याग इष्टसाधनम्, प्रवर्तनाविषयत्वात् । इष्टसाधनत्वज्ञानेन च प्रवृत्त्युत्पत्तिः ।

further elaborated as बलवदनिष्टानुबन्धित्वानुबन्धित्वयोग्यत्वरूप, that which has no capacity to produce any undesirable fruit more than what he has to reap (at the time of his performing the sacrifice) and that which has capacity to produce a more harmful or sinful fruit than what he actually enjoys if and when he does the prohibited thing. He explains बलवत्त्व in अनिष्ट as उत्कटद्वेषविषयत्व that is, one man, however much he is told that the Vedic sacrifices like Agnihotra are to be performed, may feel that they are very difficult to perform and involve heavy expense etc., while another who wants to act, correctly understands that the sacrifices are the sources of *abhyudaya* and that the initial difficulties are very small and insignificant. So it is left to one's own taste and conviction to like or dislike these sacrifices. So also are the prohibited things like कलञ्जभक्षण. However much one is informed that these prohibited acts are sinful and are sources of hellish life, one chooses to perpetrate it simply for the sake of the tempting pleasure. That is why it is said औत्कट्यं च जातिविशेषः फलैकोन्नेयः, the *autkaṭya* in *dveṣa* is a generality which can be inferred only from its result, viz. the action or the non-action of the person. This idea is well explained by Khaṇḍadeva in his *Bhāṭṭarahasya* as follows[17] :

अतो विध्यर्थवादेषु विधेयतावच्छेदकसामानाधिकरण्येन बलवदनिष्टाननुबन्धित्वरूपं प्राशस्त्यं लक्ष्यते । निषेधार्थवादेषु च निषेध्यतावच्छेदकसामानाधिकरण्येन बलवदनिष्टानुबन्धित्वरूप-प्राशस्त्यम् । अत्रानिष्टे बलवत्त्वम् उत्कटद्वेषविषयत्वम्, न त्वाधिक्यम् । स्वर्गन्यूनेऽपि तात्कालिक-दुःखे प्राचीनकर्मवशेन कदाचिदुत्कटद्वेषोदयात् । अत एव नैव तदा यागादौ प्रवर्तते । नरकन्यूनेऽपि च तात्कालिकसुखे प्राचीनकर्मवशेनोत्कटरागोदयाच्च । अत एव अभिचारादौ प्रवर्तते । अत एव यागादौ कदाचित् प्राचीनशुभकर्मवशाद् बलवदनिष्टाननुबन्धित्वं, न तु सर्वदा । अत एव विधेयता-वच्छेदकसामानाधिकरण्येनेत्यनेन तस्य कालिकाव्याप्यवृत्तित्वं विवक्षितम् । एवं न कलञ्जं भक्षयेदित्यादौ कदाचिदेव शुभकर्मवशाद् बलवदनिष्टानुबन्धित्वज्ञानम् । अतस्तत्रापि कालिकाव्या-प्यवृत्तित्वसिद्ध्यर्थं निषेध्यतावच्छेदकेत्यादि । एतादृशाव्याप्यवृत्तित्वज्ञापनार्थमेव कौस्तुभादौ योग्यतापदम् ।

17. *Bhāttarahasya*, Conjeevaram edn. p. 18.

SECTION V
Historical & Cultural Studies

Life of Buddhist Monks in Chinese Turkestan[1]

By

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The regions beyond the North-Western Frontier of India were very well known to the early Buddhist writers, as early as the *Bāveru Jātaka*. Emperor Aśoka, in his inscriptions too, is credited to have dispatched religious missions to these distant countries. Buddhism was bound to spread and change the very outlook of the people in different parts of Afghanistan, Central Asia and China. According to a legend, Buddhist teachers reached Chinese capital as early as 218 B. C[2]. Also we are informed by a quasi historical account that Ho-kiu-Ping—a Chinese general brought with him a golden statue of Lord Buddha from Central Asia in the second century B.C. It was in 2 B.C. that certain Buddhist texts were first presented to the Chinese emperor by an Indo-Scythian ruler[3]. As regards the appearance of Buddhist missionaries, Dharma Raksha and Kās'yapa-mātaṅga, for the first time in China in 65 A. D., there is no difference of opinion. It was continuously for many centuries that Buddhist monks and teachers came from Central Asia and preached the gospel of the Buddha in China and the neighbouring countries. Historical accounts very well bear testimony to the existence of Buddhist monks and laymen (उपासकs) in the court of a Chinese prince then ruling in the valley of Yang-tse-kiang[4].

It was during the regime of the famous Kushāṇa ruler Kanishka that Buddhism received universal recognition in different parts of Chinese Turkestan. Khotan, Kucha, Kashghar, Shan Shan and Turfan became some of the important centres of Buddhism. Fahien, a Chinese traveller who happened to visit these places in fourth century A. D., spoke very highly of the then flourishing state of Buddhism and the institution of monks in the whole of Chinese Turkestan[5].

1. The following Abbreviations are used here.—

Doc.	=	Rapson, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions discovered by A. Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, Oxford, Vols. I, II, III, (Text only).
Tra.	=	Burrow. T., *A Translation of Kharoshṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, London, 1940.
Lan.	=	Burrow. T., *The Language of the Kharoshṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, Cambridge, 1937.
BSOS	=	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.

2. Bagchi. P. C., *India and China*, Calcutta, 1927, p. 5.
3. *Ibid.* 1944, p. 7.
4. *Ibid.* 1927, p. 7.
5. Cf. Beal, *Travels of Fahien and Sung-Yun*, London, 1869, p. 5.

The discovery of a large number of Kharoshṭhī documents (about 782 in number) on wooden tablets, leather and silk fragments from ancient sites of Chinese Turkestan[6] throws a good deal of light on the life of Buddhist monks[7] in the kingdom of Shan Shan to the west of China.

It is very curious to note that these Central Asian Buddhist monks and priests who happened to style themselves as श्रमणs in the Indian manner were quite different from the Indian monks both in their attitude and actions. They were occupied in all sorts of worldly affairs, indulged in luxuries, followed a number of secular professions, kept slaves and led lives quite unworthy of a *śramaṇa*. This lamentable state of affairs was perhaps due to the fact that the institution of *śramaṇa*-hood was engrafted upon a people who had no earlier traditions of asceticism. At the same time the monks were not absolutely ignorant of the rules of discipline and monastic life. They had some noble ideals[8] before them, though it was yet early for them to come up to the high standard of the Indian *bhikshus*. Moreover, it was not at all obligatory for the monks to live in monasteries alone. They could lead household lives and were still entitled to be called monks. This was indeed a noteworthy feature in the early centuries after Christ.

The following are a few glimpses of the life of the Central Asian Buddhist monks.

1. *Monks having wives and children* :—

   (*i*) A priest S'āriputra gave his adopted daughter in lawful marriage to some priest Buddhavarmā (Doc. no. 418). The latter had a daughter from this wife. Buddhavarmā married his daughter to some other monk.

   (*ii*) Budhosa was the son of monk Buddhaśira (Doc. no. 655).

   (*iii*) Budhila and Budhaya were sons of monk Aṭhamo (Doc. no. 419).

   (*iv*) A monk Saṃghapāla had sons and daughters (Doc. no. 474).

   (*v*) The daughter of monk Sundara eloped with a potter's son (Doc. no. 621).

2. *Monks giving and taking children for adoption* :—

   (*i*) A monk S'āriputra adopted a girl (Doc. no. 418).

   (*ii*) A monk Buddhamitra gave a boy for adoption and charged milk-fee for that boy (Doc. no. 553).

6. *Niya, Endere, Loulan;* for the text see Vols I, II, III, =Doc. *op. cit.*

7. श्रमन, श्रंमन, श्रमंन are some of the common epithets used in the documents, cf. Skt. श्रमण; also भिछु another epithet is the same as Skt. भिन्तु

8. Doc. no. 511 deals with rules of discipline for the monks.

3. *Monks purchasing girls :—*

A monk Buddhasena purchased a girl five *dishṭis* in length (Doc. no. 437).

4. *Prevelence of slavery amongst the monks :—*

(*i*) Buddhaghosha was the name of the slave of a monk Ānandasena (Doc. 345).

(*ii*) A monk Tatiga gave a slave to monk S'āṃcha who had already given a monk Bhatra to Tatiga in return. Accepting a slave in place of monk perhaps indicates that monks too could be kept for similar purposes (Doc. no. 506). Further we learn from the same document that monk S'āṃcha had another slave S'ānaṃma by name. In a certain dispute about slaves, the community of monks at *Chaḍota* (*Chaḍota* is Niya site) acted as the judge (चडोति संगेन भ्रुछित व्योछिंन, Doc. no. 506) but did not object to the keeping of slaves by the monks. This shows that slavery was an institution well recognised and practised both by the monks and their holy organisation.

(*iii*) A monk Dharmapriya, residing in somebody's house was to be given to Sumata. A quarter of this monk was sold.[9]

(*iv*) This monk was to be given to others as a slave[10] (Doc. no. 358).

It is an enigma that monks too could be made slaves without the epithet **श्रमण** being removed from their name. The exact position and condition of such monks are shrouded in mystery. This was a typical feature of the monastic life in Chinese Turkestan.

5. *Monks involved in law suits :—*

(*i*) Certain monks employed a man. After he had worked for two months, they dissmissed him and did not pay him the wages for the period he worked for them. The matter was then referred to the court for decision (Doc. no. 386).

(*ii*) A monk, Saṃghapāla married a girl without paying the bride-price.[11] A complaint was lodged to this effect (Doc. no. 474).

(*iii*) A certain monastery master (**विहरवल**=Skt. **विहारपाल**) was a very cruel sort of person. He was seen causing much damage to the vine crops

9. Cf. Doc. no. 152. एष श्रमन मोत्गेयस दभ्र श्रसि महि वंति पद विक्रित ! It is difficult to understand how one-fourth (quarter=पद) of a slave could be sold to anybody?

10. Cf. Doc. no. 532.

11. Cf. Vedic **शुल्क** which was also paid to the father of the girl (at the time of marriage) by the other party.

of his own *kilme* people. He was addicted to both meat and wine.[12] Orders were issued to keep him in fetters (Doc. no. 358).

(*iv*) A monk Ānandasena owed one cow as fine at the court (Doc. no. 345). Why he was fined, we do not know at all.

(*v*) A monk Saṃghaśira illegally mortgaged a vineyard and ploughed a field belonging to some other person (Doc. no. 473).

6. *Monks and monastic discipline:—*

The opening verse of document no. 511 exhorts the Buddhist monks to listen to rules of discipline with rapt attention. One going astray can have no place in the Buddhist order. They who adopt the ways contrary to the life of a *bhikshu* are not accepted by the *Saṃgha*. Those who are of spottless character deserve every possible care by the *Saṃgha*. Persons indulging in unbecoming actions shall remain out of the pale of *Saṃgha*. The document reveals an unsatisfactory state of affairs. It appears that monks did not completely follow the dictates and injunctions of the Buddhist canon. This might have led the elders to feel the necessity of warning the monks against such lapses in their behaviour. In another document (no. 489), dated in the 10th year of King Jiṭugha Mahagiri's reign, Buddhist monasteries were in a still worse condition. Monks, residing there, used to disrespect the elders and quarrelled with each other. The affairs of the *Bhikshu-Saṃgha* at *Chaḍota* were looked after by the central *Saṃgha*. Even official intervention had to be sought and the king issued the following order:

"Elders Śilaprabha and Puṇyasena will be incharge of the monastery. They will be administering all the activities there. Any dispute, which arises shall be examined in accordance with law. He who dares to transgress the rules of the community will be fined one roll of silk (पट). A monk who does not participate in the *posatha*[13] ceremony shall also be fined likewise".

Similar was the fine for a *bhikshu* who enters the *posatha* ceremony in the garb of a householder. Punishment and fine were more severe in matters of mutual quarrel, i e. 5, 10 or even 15 rolls of silk according to the gravity of the offence. This was how the unruly monks were brought under the strict control of the monastery master. The higher religious authorities were

12. Cf. Doc. no. 345, a monk takes wine on loan. Chinese Turkestan was famous for its wine which formed a part of the diet of the people there. Since monks received meat and wine as alms from the people they had no objection in eating whatever was offered to them. This was the case everywhere in non-vegetarian countries.

13. A pre-Buddhist custom adopted by the Buddha for the expounding of *Dhamma* every 15th day of the half moon. One of these days was utilised for the recitation of पातिमोक्ख (Vinaya text). For details, see Dutta. N. N., *Early Monastic Buddhism*, Calcutta, 1941, Vol I, pp. 289-91.

quite watchful. And the central *Saṃgha* did not remain idle and careless in such matters of urgency.

7. *Monks as landlords* :—

(*a*) (*i*) In the reign of king Aṃgoka monk Dhamaladha sold *agri-land* and received wine and some textile goods in return (Doc. no. 652).

(*ii*) In king Pepiya's reign, monk Buddhaśira and his son Budhosa sold '*mishi*'-land and a vineyard to another monk (Doc. no. 655).

(*iii*) A monk Yipiya received three horses in return for the land sold (Doc. no. 582). The sale deed was drafted and signed in the presence of the community of monks at *Chaḍota*.

(*iv*) A monk Saṃghaśira illegally mortgaged a vineyard and ploughed a field belonging to some other person (Doc. no. 473).

(*v*) A monk Saṃghabhūti purchased some land for one Khotanese rug and 5 *milima* of corn (Doc. no 549).

(*b*) (*i*) A monk Buddhasena was a landlord in *Yaveavana* (a locality). Taxes were being collected from the tenants etc. (Doc. no. 431–2).

(*ii*) A monk Saṃghapala was a landlord in *Chatisdeviavana* (Doc. no. 474).

(*iii*) Sudarśana, a monastery master was a big zamindar. Even in detention he was living at the cost of his tenants (Doc. no. 358).

8. *Monks keeping animals* :—

(*i*) A monk Dharmapriya got a camel from somebody and gave it in exchange to another person (Doc. no. 546).

(*ii*) Sutoge, the chief of a Buddhist order, purchased a cow (Doc. no. 122).

9. *Dress of the monks* :—

Monks could very well lead worldly lives. So there was no question of any restriction about their dress. In ancient India, where Buddhist monks liked to lead very chaste lives, the *bhikṣus* could not keep more than a fixed number of garments with them. On the other hand in Chinese Turkestan, a monk was asked to wear monkish robes only when he was called upon to join the *posatha* ceremony (Doc. no. 489). Generally the *bhikṣus* remained in ordinary clothes of the householders. Not only this, monks could even purchase luxurious textile goods as Khotanese rugs (Doc. no. 549) and *arnavajis*[14] or *arnarajis* (Doc. no. 386).

It is still more interesting to note that monks living in monasteries were fined in terms of rolls of silk (पट)[14] and the number of such rolls ranged from one to fifteen (Doc. no. 489) according to the gravity of the offence. The exact size or nature of these *paṭas* is not known. A fine of 15 *paṭas* shows that a

14. For details regarding these objects see my article "A study of Textiles and Garments as depicted in the *Kharoshṭhī* Documents from Chinese Turkestan", read before the All India Oriental Conference, Lucknow, 1951.

monk could keep at least so many *paṭas* with him.

In a solitary document (no. 606) there is a reference to the yellow robe (कषर[15] = Skt. काषाय, Tocharian काषार of a *śramaṇa*.)

10. *Professions of the monks* :—

(a) *Business in means of Transport* :—A monk complained that no camel hire was paid to him for the last five years (Doc. no. 340).

(b) *Banking and money-lending* :—In ancient India, no Buddhist monk was allowed to possess silver, gold or any precious article. Even the Buddhist *saṃgha*, in the beginning, could not accept donations in shape of coins etc. This strict rule was relaxed later on when bullion began to be accepted without any hesitation. But there was no scope for the monks to rise to the position of big money-lenders and land lords. On the other hand in Chinese Turkestan we find the monks were rich enough to give even 2800 *māshas* as loan (Doc. no. 500). Even water could be given (Doc. no. 502) and taken (Doc. no. 604) on loan. Also corn and wine were received as loan by a monk Ānandasena (Doc. no. 345). In this very document no. 345 a slave was given away by a monk to pay off his debts.

The above evidence is corroborated by the discovery of certain Chinese records of 8th century A. D. from a place *Dandānuilik* in Chinese Turkestan. A detailed account of numerous loan-bonds has been given by Sir A. Stein, who says that these loanbonds, "relate to money-lending transactions of the same monk or possibly some equally businesslike brethren from the *Hukue* Convent."[16] Stein also informs that the monks "who were supervising as chief caretakers of the outlying landed property of the Hukuo Temple, held even offices of the chief of *karmadāna*, *sthavira* and *vihārasvāmin* of the temple or *vihāra*."[16]

(c) *Monks in state service:*—

(i) *As royal scribes.* Dharmapriya was a state scribe[17] (रजादिविर) in the time of king Mayiri (Doc. no. 575).

(ii) *As tax collectors*:—A monk Saṃghapriya (Doc. no. 252), elder Yapgu (Doc. no. 477), and a monk Sotaya (Doc. no. 547) were to collect corn which was paid as tax.

(d) *Monks in ordinary service* :—

(i) A monk Mokṣabuddhi worked as a petition writer (Doc. no. 331).

15. Cf. *Lan*, p. 82; BSOS. XIII, pt. I, (1949), p. 1303; BSOS. XIII, pt. II, (1950) p. 389.

16. Stein, A., *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford. *1907*, *pp. 276-7*.

17. Cf. Doc. no. 676 रजदिविर श्रमन (...).

(*ii*) A monk Patraya was asked to take a camel and hand it over to some body else (Doc. no. 516).

(*e*) *Monks as messengers :—*

(*i*) A monk Chagusena was sent to bring some information about the army people (Doc. no 69).

(*ii*) *Śramaṇa* Chakuvala was to convey good wishes of health. He took with him some presents for the addressee (Doc. no. 288). Instructions were given to look after that monk messenger.

(*f*) *Monks as judicial officers (?) :—*

In a royal letter addressed jointly to Kori Muldeya and monk Ānanda, the addressees were required to look into a dispute concerning a woman. Perhaps monk Ānanda was some executive or judicial officer of the state (Doc. no. 706).

(*g*) *Monks having their seals* (**मुत्र** *or* **मुद्रग**) :—
Documents nos. 419 and 425 refer to this fact.

11. *Monks in the eyes of law :—*

(*a*) *Privileges enjoyed by monks :—*

(*i*) As usual (**पुर्विक**) monks were to be exempted from the investigation that took place in the city (Doc. no. 503). It was necessary to take care of documents concerning monks in order to save them from any inconvenience at the time of dispute.

(*ii*) Regulations for the community of monks had to be kept carefully (Doc. no. 489).

(*iii*) The community of monks at *Chaḍota* (**चडोतिभिछुसंग**) examined and decided the disputes of the monks without any interference from the state (Doc. no. 506). But there could be some appeal to a still higher court, if the parties felt dissatisfied with the judgement of the *bhikṣusaṃgha*.

(*iv*) In Doc. no 553, we find an officer showing undue favour towards a monk in matters of adoption.

(*b*) No doubt the monks enjoyed some privileges but the fact cannot be generalised. We have already noticed that monks could be fined (in shape of *paṭas*, Doc. no. 489) for disobedience and for violating the rules of discipline in the monasteries. Also we hear that a certain monk owed a fine of one cow at the king's court (*Tra.* Doc. no. 345). Even a monastery-master, (**विहरवल**=Skt. **विहारपाल**) who was a great source of trouble to his tenants, was kept in fetters (Doc. no. 358) and his diet etc., was all regulated in strict accordance with the rules

of detention (अवरोधिधर्मेन रकिखद्वो). No special treatment was meted out to such defaulters even if they happened to be monks or elders.

12. Monks as witnesses in the court :—

Monks in Chinese Turkestan could appear in person as witnesses in the court in matters relating to :—

(*i*)	The sale of a girl	Doc. no. 589.	
(*ii*)	„ „ „ a camel	„ „ 592.	
(*iii*)	„ „ „ a woman	„ „ 209.	
(*iv*)	„ „ „ land	„ „ 582.	Here *bhikṣusaṃgha* is one of the witnesses.
(*v*)	The hiring of a camel	„ „ 400.	
(*vi*)	Adoption	„ „ 415.	

13. Buddhist monks as a class by itself :—

In Doc. no. 588, monks are included in a list of noble persons (=अझते जंन)[18], while in Doc. no. 554 the phrase 'श्रमंन, ब्रंमन'[19] deserves to be noted with special care. It indicates that *śramaṇas* were different from the *Brāhmaṇas*, the latter qualifying a Brāhmanic monk. There the Buddhist monks (श्रमणs) seem to have formed a separate class. Burrow (*op. cit.*, p. 109) is against this view regarding the existence of the *Brāhmaṇas* in Central Asia. There does not seem to be much truth in the statement of Burrow if we care to analyse the contents of the Doc. no. 588 where different classes of persons included the state officials, the masters, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *śramaṇas*, the *vurchugas* etc-.[20] As regards the relation of the Buddhist monks with the *Brāhmaṇas*, our documents are totally silent.

14. Care of the monks:—

Proper care of a dying monk was taken by the people. Every possible effort was made to save his life (Doc. no. 703).

We have noted above (Doc. no. 288), that a monk, sent as a messenger, was to be properly looked after. He was also to be given a patient hearing.

Sometimes high state officials brought some corn and rice (Doc. nos. 343, 703) for the monks residing in the monasteries. Our documents are absolutely silent as to the private donation of coins or landed property or luxurious goods for the monks in the *saṃghārāmas* or *vihāras* As regards royal donations too we do not know anything at all.

18. Burrow. T, *Lan. op. cit*, p. 73, compares the word with Avestan *āzāta* and N. Pers. *āzāda*=noble or free.

19. ब्रमंन also occurs as a solitary word in Doc no. 554.

20. सर्वं त्रेगधरे गोठभटरजंन श्रमंन ब्रमंन वुर्चुगस च एद्रे जंन ।

This is, in short, the life which the Buddhist monks in the Chinese Turkestan were leading from the beginning of second to the end of fourth-century A. D. A vivid contrast between Central Asian and Indian ways of life is clearly visible. Monks in Chinese Turkestan failed miserably to come up to the high standard of asceticism so much cherished by the Indian monks. It will be absolutely improper to call these *śramaṇas* as Buddhist *bhikṣus*. They were following various secular professions and conducting regular transactions in slaves etc. In short their activities were contrary to what Lord Buddha had preached and lived for.

Political Data in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī

By

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I. Monarchy

TITLES AND TERMS. Pāṇini refers to a monarchical state as *rājya* (VI. 2. 130), derived from *rājan* or king, as distinguished from *saṅgha* or Republic. In a well-known passage of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII. 15), *rājya* occurs as one of the several classes of sovereignty to which rulers were consecrated at the time of their coronation. The term *īśvara* in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* denotes a *rājā* with reference to his supreme power, as in *sūtras* I. 4. 97, and II. 3. 9 (...*Yasya ceśvaravacanaṁ tatra saptamī)*, which relates to grammatical formations for naming the king of a country. In early literature *īśvara* meant an earthly king and not 'God'. Patañjali cites an old example, *adhi Brahmadatte Pañcālāḥ*, i.e. 'the Pañcālas are under the kingship of Brahmadatta'. In the *Bhāṣya rājā* of *sūtra* II. 4. 23 is taken as a synonym of *ina* and *īśvara* (I 177) The *Nighaṇṭu* makes *rāṣṭrī*, *arya*, *niyutvān* and *ina* as names of *īśvara*. Of these *arya* is referred to by Pāṇini as a synonym of *svāmī* (III. 1. 103). The latter word is derived to denote one who possesses *aiśvarya* or sovereignty (*svāminn-aiśvarye*, V. 2. 126). Patañjali points out that the idea of *aiśvarya* is inherent in the word itself and is not the result of any suffix (*nāyaṁ pratyayārthaḥ*, II. 400). It appears, that *svāmī* implying *aiśvarya* primarily denoted a king.

Another title of *rājā* in Pāṇini is *bhūpati* (VI. 2. 19), and here also *aiśvarya* is an attribute of *pati* or overlordship (*patyāv-aiśvarye*, VI. 2. 18). *Bhūpati*, therefore, means 'lord of the earth'. The word *adhipati* mentioned along with *svāmī* and *īśvara* (II. 3. 39) occurs in the coronation formula of the *Aitareya-Brā.* as a form of sovereignty called *ādhipatya*. Jayaswal understood it as overlordship over neighbouring states. The word *samrāj* and *mahārāja* were old kingly titles, of which the former is mentioned in *sūtra* VIII. 3. 25, and the latter although mentioned twice (IV. 2. 35; 3. 97) does not refer to a king or ruler, but to one of the *catur-mahārājika* gods (*mahārājo devatā*).

The king's relationship to territory (*bhūmi* and *pṛthivī*) is indicated in his titles *sārvabhauma* and *pārthiva* based on his sovereignty or *aiśvarya* (*Tasyeśvaraḥ sarvabhūmi-pṛthivībhyām aṇañau*, V. 1. 41-42). One's own kingdom was called *pṛthivī*; but *sarvabhūmi* denoted the whole country and was the same as *mahāpṛthivī*, also referred to as *mahāpathavi* in the *Mahā-govinda sutta* of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*. The paramount sovereign after conquest

of the earth became entitled to perform an *as'vamedha* (*Āpastamba-Sr.*, *XXX*, 1,1). The title *sārvabhauma* also occurs in the list of the *Ait.-Brā.*

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS (*PARIṢAD*). Pāṇini is acquainted with *pariṣad* as a recognized institution of his time of which he mentions three kinds: (1) social (IV. 4. 44), (2) literary (IV. 3.123), and (3) political (V.2.112). A member of a *pariṣad* was called *pāriṣada* and *pāriṣadya* (IV. 4. 101). He must be duly qualified or eligible for it (*sādhu*). One who joined the meeting of a *pariṣad* was called *pāriṣadya* (*pariṣadaṁ samavaiti*, IV. 4. 44). This *pariṣad* or social congregation was like the *samāja*. *Pariṣad* as a political institution is mentioned in *sūtra*, V. 2. 112 (*rajaḥ-kṛṣy-āsuti-pariṣado valac*) prescribing the form *pariṣadvala*, which the commentators apply to a king with his Council of Ministers (*pariṣadvalo rājā*). The Buddhist literature, Kauṭilya and As'oka inscriptions contain references to this institution. In the *Mahāsīlava-Jātaka*, the king's *pariṣad* consisting of ministers (*amacchas*) is spoken of as perfectly disciplined to act harmoniously with the will of the king (*evaṁ suvinītā kir assa parisā*, *Jāt.* I. 264). As'oka in Rock Edicts III and VI mentions the *pariṣad* which was summoned to consider urgent matters (*acāyike*). An authoritative account of the constitution of the *Mantri-pariṣad* is given in Kauṭilya who describes it as a well-established institution invested with definite constitutional power in relation to the king and the business of the state (*Artha*. I. 11, pp. 26-29).

The particularly happy expression *pariṣadvalo rājā*, the king-in-council, current in the political terminology of Pāṇini's time shows the importance which was attached to the *pariṣad* with reference to the constitutional position of the king in relation to his ministers.

RĀJAKṚTVĀ (III. 2. 95). This was another important term of political vocabulary mentioned by Pāṇini in *sūtra rājani yudhikṛñaḥ* (III. 2. 95), signifying the institution of *rājānaṁ kṛtavān* 'one who is a king-maker'. In the Vedic period the *Ratnins* or High State Functionaries are spoken of as *rājakṛts*, 'king-makers' (*AV*. III. 5. 67). This political epithet continued up to the Buddhist period. The Pāli canon employs 'king-maker' as a synonym for ministers (*rājakattāro*, *Dīghanikāya Mahāgovinda Suttanta*). The *Rāmāyaṇa* in describing the ministers who put their resolution before Bharata, calls them 'king-makers' (*Ayodhyā* 79. 1, *sametya rāja-kartāro Bharataṁ vākyam abruvan* ; Comm. *rājakartāraḥ = mantriṇaḥ*, *Hindu Polity*, II. 116).

CHIEF MINISTER. A fact of great constitutional significance with respect to the working of the Hindu monarchy in the earliest period is mentioned by Pāṇini in the following *sūtra*:

Mis'raṁ cānupasargam asaṁdhau (VI. 2. 154).

'The word *mis'ra* has an acute accent on the final vowel after an instrumental case, when it is not joined with any preposition, and does not mean an *agreement with oath* (*saṁdhi*)'.

On this the *Kāśikā* says: 'why do we say 'not denoting an agreement with oath'? Observe *Brāhmaṇa-mis'ro rājā, Brāhmaṇaiḥ saha saṁhita aikārthyam āpannaḥ. Saṁdhiriti hi paṇabandhena aikārthyam ucyate*'. As Vasu renders the meaning of the *Kās'ikā*: 'The word *saṁdhi* here means a contract formed by reciprocal promises ; If you do this thing for me, I will do this for you.' Others say, it means close proximity, without losing identity and thus differs from *miśra* in which two things are compounded into one. Therefore, though the king and the Brāhmaṇa may be in close proximity as regards space (*des'a-pratyāsattau*), they both retain their individuality, hence the counter-example '*Brāhmaṇa-mis'ro rājā*'. Thus the word *mis'ra* points to blended authority between the king and his ministers who shared it jointly according to constitutional usage.

This technical meaning of *saṁdhi* is recorded in the *Arthas'āstra*, VII. 1, p. 263, Trans. p. 293 which defines it as *paṇabandhaḥ sandhiḥ*, 'an agreement with oath is *saṁdhi*'. The agreement of a king with a Brāhmaṇa in accordance with the oath of loyalty to the constitution was a feature of Hindu Polity. The king, according to *Manu* (VII. 58), must consult his Chief Minister, who should be a learned Brāhmaṇa, about secret counsels dealing with the six limbs of state-craft (*ṣāḍguṇya, Hindu Polity*, II. 119). According to Kauṭilya also the king's Chief Minister should be a Brāhmaṇa : The king *(kṣatra)* who is supported by a Brāhmaṇa, and who has the advantage of the advice of other *mantrins*, and who is governed by the *śāstras*, conqures territories unacquired before (*Artha*. I. 8, p. 16). It is virtually a restatement of the Vedic dictum *Brahmaṇā kṣatreṇa cobhayataḥ s'rīḥ parigṛhītā bhavati* (*TBrā*. III. 9. 14. 2) also embodied in *Manu* (IX. 322).

In actual practice also, the alliance of a Kṣatriya king with a Brāhmaṇa Prime Minister or Chancellor was the prevailing political arrangment from about the S'ais'unāga period to the reign of As'oka. The names of some of the great ministers were as well-known as those of the rulers; for example, we find mention of Varṣakāra, Chief Minister of Ajātas'atru, Dīrgha Cārayāṇa of king Viḍūḍabha of Kosala; Yaugandharāyaṇa of Udayana, Cāṇakya of Candragupta and also Bindusāra, Rādhagupta of As'oka, Pis'una of Pālaka of Avanti *(Artha. Comm.)*, Bharata Rohaka of Caṇḍa Pradyota; Ācārya Ghoṭamukha of Aṁs'umān of Avanti (Bhagavaddatta, *History of India*, p. 258), Kaṇiṅka Bhārdvāja of Parantapa, king of Kosala (*Artha. comm*), and Bābhravya of king Brahmadatta of Pañcāla *(Matsya-Purāṇa,* XXI. 30). As Jayaswal has observed, the system of noting historically the Prime Ministers' name occurs

as a marked feature in Buddhist records (*Imperial History of India*, p. 17). All these ministers occupied positions of the highest responsibility in the administration and were bound by constitutional ties to the king whose policies they directed so completely.

Pāṇini mentions another political term, *Ārya-Brāhmaṇa* (*Āryo brāhmaṇa-kumārayoḥ*, VI. 2. 58), the venerable Brāhmaṇa used with reference to the Chief Minister. In the next *sūtra*, *Rājā ca* (VI. 2. 59) Pāṇini refers to *Rāja-Brāhmaṇa*, which as a *Karmadhāraya* compound, would apply to a king of the Brāhmaṇa caste, but as a counter-example would refer to the Brāhmaṇa of the king. The king's Brāhmaṇa was the same as the king's minister mentioned in *Brāhmaṇa-miśro rājā*.

AṢAḌAKṢĪṆA (*V.* 4. 7, *SECRET COUNSEL*). It literally means 'that which is not seen by six eyes'. The *Kāśikā* explains it to mean deliberation between two persons only, and not more (*aṣaḍakṣīṇo mantraḥ, yo dvābhyāmeva kriyate, na bahubhiḥ*). In the political evolution of the *mantri-pariṣad* and with the emergence of the office of the Prime Minister, there was a tendency to form a smaller body inside the *Pariṣad* for more effective and responsible deliberation. As to the number of ministers, constituting this Inner Body, Kauṭilya supplies valuable information recording the views of earlier political thinkers like Piśuna, Pārāśara, Viśālākṣa and Bhāradvāja. Kauṭilya states that the number of ministers should be three or four (*Artha*. I. 15, p. 28). In this matter the most forceful view was that of Kaṇiṅka Bhāradvāja, the severe theorist who advocated the system of one-minister cabinet (*guhyam eko mantrayeteti Bhārdvājaḥ, Artha*. I. 15, p. 27). This was the *aṣaḍakṣīṇa* mantra referred to by Pāṇini, i.e. the secret counsel of the king and the chief minister only, in which six-eyes had not participated. It signified the same thing as *ṣaṭ-karṇo bhidyate mantraḥ* of later literature. Bhāradvāja held that a plethora of councillors betrayed the secret (*mantriparamparā mantraṁ bhinatti, Artha*. I. 15; cited in the *Kāśikā* on V. 2. 10). This view was contested by Viśālākṣa who, perhaps true to the veiled suggestion of his name, was in favour of admitting more ministers to the secret sessions of the council.

The *aṣaḍakṣīṇa* business must have related to urgent and important matters of state. Pāṇini refers to *ātyayika* (*vinayādi-gaṇa*, V. 4. 34), urgent business, to which Aśoka also refers in R. E. VI, and so also Kauṭilya: Summoning the ministers and the council, the king shall speak to them on urgent matters (*ātyayike kārye mantriṇo mantri-pariṣadam cāhūya brūyāt, Artha*. p. 29). Here *mantriṇaḥ* refers to the Inner Cabinet, and *mantri-pariṣad* to the fuller council of ministers. The *aṣaḍakṣīṇa* deliberations belonged to the former. Similarly, in the *Gaṇa-pāṭha*, IV. 3. 118 an act or resolution of the *pariṣad*, is called *pāriṣatka*.

RĀJASABHĀ (II. 4. 23). As distinguished from the *pariṣad*, the general

assembly was represented by the *Rāja-sabhā*. Tradition makes Bindusāra having a council of five hundred members. As examples of *Rāja-sabhā*, Patañjali cites *Candragupta-sabhā* and *Puṣyamitra-sabhā* (*Bhāṣya*, I. 177).

The implication of Pāṇini's next *sūtra*, *Aśālā ca* ('that which is not a building', II. 4. 24) interpreted with the rule under discussion is that the term *Rāja-sabhā*, and also its specific names, such as *Candragupta-sabhā*, had a two-fold significance, firstly the body of members and secondly the building where the assembly held its session. Even in the Vedic literature we find that *Sabhā* was the name of an 'assembly' as well as of the 'hall' where the assembly was held (*Vedic Index*, II. 426). The example *Candragupta-sabhā* although certainly post-Pāṇinian denoted both the assembly or Great Synod of that emperor and the magnificent pillared hall which has been discovered in the excavations at Pāṭaliputra. The pillared assembly hall was a Vedic model as the word *sabhā-sthāṇu* (*Vedic Index*, II. 426) shows. Candragupta built his *sabhā* with stone pillars. In this connection we may refer to the expression *kāṣṭha-sabhā* indicative of wooden architecture of ancient times. *Candra* and *Kāśikā* cite it as a counter-example. It is known that the earliest Indian architecture in stone was preceded by that in wood, from which the technical patterns and ornamentation of early Indian art were certainly derived. Therefore, an assembly hall made of wood (*Kāṣṭha-sabhā*) was probably of the pre-Maurya period.

According to Ludwig the Vedic *sabhā* was an assembly not of all the people but of the Brāhmaṇas and Maghavans or the rich aristocrats (*Vedic Index*. II. 426). The word *sabheya*, 'worthy of the assembly,' is taken by Keith to support this view. Vedic *sabheya* (IV. 4. 106) corresponds to *sabhya* of classical Sanskrit (*sabhāyāṁ sādhuḥ sabhyaḥ*, IV. 4. 105), which must have been applied only to those who were privileged to become members of the *sabhā*.

Pāṇini mentions the office and duties of *Purohita* as *paurohitya* (V. 1. 128). The *Purohitādi-gaṇa* includes *Rājā* and also *Senāpati* implied in the phrase *patyanta* of the *sūtra*. According to Kauṭilya next in rank to the Chief Minister was the *Purohita*; after him came the *Senāpati*, and then the *Yuvarāja* (*Artha*. V. 3, p. 247). A *Purohita* was to be learned both in the Veda and politics (*daṇḍanīti*).

MAHIṢĪ (QUEEN IV. 4. 48). The queen had an official position in Hindu polity. She was crowned jointly with the king. Pāṇini mentions the Chief Queen as *Mahiṣī* (*Aṇ mahiṣyādibhyaḥ*, IV. 4. 48), and the special term *māhiṣa* must have referred to her allowances in the Civil List, which was a charge fixed by convention (*dharmyam*, *ācāra-yuktam*). In the same *gaṇa* after *Mahiṣī* comes *prajāvatī*, mother of princes, and her salary is called *prājāvata*. Kauṭilya also mentions both the Chief Queen and the mother of

princes (*rājamahiṣī, kumāra-mātṛ)* in the Civil List, the former receiving 48,000 and the latter 12,000 silver *paṇas* per year (*Artha*. V. 3, p. 247). The Chief Queen (*ajja-mahesi*) is frequently mentioned in the *Jātakas* (V. 22; VI. 31) and distinguished from *pajāpatī* (I. 398 ; Skt. *prajāvatī*), a title applied to all other queens except the Chief Queen.

Pāṇini mentions the phrase *a-sūryaṁ-paśyā* applied to women who lived in the seclusion of the palace where they could not see even the sun. The commentators interpret the term as *rājadārāḥ* or the royal harem, which corresponds to Aśoka's *orodhana* (Skt. *avarodhana*).

CROWN PRINCE. The general word for 'prince' in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is *rāja-putra* (IV. 2. 39) and *rāja-kumāra* (IV. 2. 59). The word *rāja-kumāra* has two meanings : (1) a boy king and (2) prince, the latter being a counter-example to the *sūtra* : *Rāja ca* (*rājñaḥ kumāraḥ*). Of all his sons the king selected the son of Chief Queen, as the crown-prince or *yuvarāja*. In this connection Pāṇini makes an important reference to *ārya-kumāra*, i.e., chief prince, who was invested with the title *ārya* (*āryaścāsau kumāraśca*, *Āryo Brāhmaṇa-kumārayoḥ*, VI. 2. 58). *Ārya* appears to be a political title both in *ārya-brāhmaṇa* and *ārya-kumāra*. Samudragupta was addressed as *Ārya* by his father at the time of his selection to the throne *āryo hītyupaguhya*, (*Allahabad Pillar Inscription*). In the *Jātakas* the crown prince is called *uparājā*. In one instance, of the two brothers one is made *uparājā* and the younger one *senāpati*; on the death of the king the *uparājā* becomes *rājā* and the *senāpati* becomes *uparājā* (*Jāt*. VI. 30).

RĀJAKUMĀRA. This expression especially taught in *sūtra* VI. 2. 59, denotes a boy-king, *i.e.* a prince who was required under special circumstances to succeed to the throne as a minor. It should be noted that a boy-king, although permitted to succeed in his minority, was formally consecrated as king only when he attained the age of majority.

PERSONAL AND PALACE STAFF. The king, in keeping with his royal dignity, maintained a full contingent of personal and household staff which consisted of body-guards, the chamberlain, ecclesiastical staff, toilet attendants, and inferior servants who were in charge of royal paraphernalia. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* acquaints us with each one of these classes of officers.

PERSONAL BODYGUARDS. The king's A. D. C. or staff for the protection of his person (*ātma-rakṣitaka*, *Artha*. II. 21, p. 42) is mentioned by Pāṇini as *Rāja-pratyenas* (*Ṣaṣṭhī pratyenasi*, VI. 2. 60). *Pratyenas* is mentioned along with *Ugra* and *Sūta-grāmaṇī* in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Up*. (IV. 3. 43-44), denoting there a police-officer. 'The sense must be that of the humbler 'servants' of the king' (*Vedic Index*, II. 34). It was a responsible

informs us about the status of dignitaries appointed as king's body-guard. In *sūtra* VI. 2. 27 (*Ādiḥ pratyenasi*) he explains the formation *kumāra-pratyenāḥ*, *i.e.*, a prince serving as A. D. C. It must have been a position of honour to which princes of the royal blood were always appointed. An association of princes is mentioned as *rājaputraka* (IV. 2. 39).

CHAMBERLAIN. This official is called *Dauvārika* (VII.3.4, *dvārādīnāṁ ca*, *dvāre niyuktaḥ*) : his importance is indicated by his pay fixed at 24,000 silver *kārṣāpaṇas* in the *Arthas'āstra* (*dauvārika...........sannidhātāraḥ caturviṁs'ati-sāhasrāḥ*, V. 3).

OFFICERS FOR GREETING THE KING. These were: (1) *Svāgatika*, the officer who pronounced welcome to the king at his appearance (*Svāgatādīnāṁ ca*, VII. 3. 7, *svāgatam ityāha*); (2) *Sauvastika* (*svastītyāha, dvārādi-gaṇa*, the officer who recites *svasti vācana* to the king). To this Kātyāyana adds three more (3): *Saukha-s'āyanika*, the person who enquires of the king if he had slept well (*sukhaśayanaṁ pṛcchati*). This is the same as Pāṇini's *Saukha-śāyyika* (*sukha-s'ayyayā jīvati, Vetanādi-gaṇa*, IV. 4. 12). In the *Lohakumbhī Jātaka* we find mention of Brāhmaṇas coming at dawn to enquire about the health of the king of Kosala (*aruṇāgamanavelayā Brāhmaṇā āgantvā rājānaṁ sukhaas'yitaṁ pucchiṁsu*, III. 43), (4) *Saukha-rātrika*, the officer who asks whether the king spent a comfortable night, (5) *Sausnātika*, the officer who greets the king after his toilet (*susnātaṁ pṛcchati*). The *ṣausnātika* in relation to the king is referred to by Kālidāsa (*Raghuvaṁs'a*, VI. 61).

TOILET ATTENDANTS. Both male and female attendants are mentioned in connection with king's toilet, *e.g.* *pariṣecaka*, *snāpaka*, *utsādaka*, *udvartaka* (*Yājakādi-gaṇa*, II. 2. 9 ; VI. 2. 151) ; *prālepikā*, *vilepikā*, *anulepikā* (*Mahiṣyādi-gaṇa*, IV. 4. 48). The allowances (*dharmya*) attached to these offices were called after them *prālepika*, *vailepika* and *ānulepika* respectively. Patañjali makes a special reference to *vailepika* as customary payment to a female attendant who applied unguents (VI. 3. 37 ; III. 156). The expression *snātānulipta* shows that *anulepa* denoted unguents applied after bath (*Artha.*, p. 217). The *Kalpa-sūtra* (S.B.E., pp. 242-3) refers to these terms in describing the king's toilet.

RĀJA-YUDHVĀ. It also states that the king entered the hall for gymnastic exercises and there engaged in wrestling (*malla-yuddha*). Pāṇini also refers to *rāja-yudhvā* (III. 2. 95), a term applied to the wrestler who exercised the king (*rājānaṁ yodhitavān iti rāja-yudhvā*). This list of attendants incidentally has reference to the king's daily routine, as laid down in the ***Arthaśāstra***.

2. Government

GOVERNMENT. The king was the head of government of a monarchical

or *Ekarāja* State. He was assisted in his work by a ministerial council or *pariṣad*, and also possessed a larger body called *sabhā* as we have already seen. The number of ministers comprising the *pariṣad* is not known from Pāṇini, but, as Kauṭilya states, it must have depended on the needs of administration. The Chief Minister (*Ārya-Brāhmaṇa*), the Chief Priest (*purohita*), the Crown-Prince (*ārya-kumāra*, same as *ārya-putra* of the Minor Rock Edict at Brahmagiri), and the Commander of the army (*senā-pati*) have received mention in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, being important officers represented in the language through special terms.

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS. Pāṇini mentions government servants of several grades who appear to have been organized into a Civil Service. The term *āyukta* was a general term for government servants (II. 3. 40) engaged in routine work (*āsevā*). Kauṭilya refers to *āyutka-puruṣas* of a king (*Artha.* I. 15, p. 27), and so the *Jātakas* (*āyuttakapurisū rāño*, *Jāt.* V. 14). Where they were assigned to special posts they were called ***niyuktas*** after their assignments (*Tatra **niyuktaḥ***, IV. 4. 69). As examples of ***niyukta*** officers, the *Kās'ikā* mentions ***koṣṭhāgārika***, store-keeper employed in the royal store-house *agārāntāṭ-ṭhan*, IV. 4.70), who according to Kauṭilya was of the grade of a superintendent. Other special officers whose names ended in *agāra* were *devāgārika* for temples, *koṣṭhāgārika* for granaries, and *bhāṇḍāgārika* for stores (*Kāśikā* on IV. 4. 70). These must have been ancient officers, mentioned also in Kauṭilya. Personal attendants, such as *chatradhāra*, bearer of the royal umbrella; *tūṇīdhāra*, bearer of the quiver of arrows and *bhṛṅgāradhāra*, bearer of the king's spittoon, were of the ***niyukta*** class (*Aṇi **niyukte***, VI. 2. 75).

The most important officers constituting the steel-frame of administration were the *Adhyakṣas* mentioned in *sūtra* VI. 2. 67 (*Vibhāṣādhyakṣe*). They were Heads of Government departments. In Kauṭilya's administrative system, the Adhyakṣas play an important part as Heads of the different Departments of administration. The *Arthaśāstra* enumerates about twenty-five *Adhyakṣas*. As examples of *Adhyakṣas*, the *Kāśikā* is citing older examples as *As'vādhyakṣa* and *Gavādhyakṣa* (IV. 4. 69), mentioned also by Kauṭilya. The *Kās'ikā* refers to other ***niyukta*** officers, such as *ākarika*, those for mines; *s'aulkas'ālika* for customs, *āpaṇika* for market-places, *gaulmika* for forests, who were of the *Adhyakṣa* cadre according to Kauṭilya.

YUKTA. The *Yuktas* were a class of subordinate officers of whom Pāṇini mentions *Yuktārohī* (VI. 2. 81), which is the same as *Yuktārohaka* of Kauṭilya (*Artha.* V. 3, p. 248). His remuneration was fixed not as regular pay, but as an honorarium (*Pūjā-vetana*) of 500 to 1000 *kārṣāpaṇas* per year. His duties are not exactly defined but he may have been entrusted with the special task of breaking ungovernable elephants and horses (*avidheya-hastyas'vārohaṇa-samarthaḥ*, Gaṇapati S'āstri). The *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* mentions *hatthāroha*

and *assāroha* amongst skilled workmen of the times. Under the *Adhyakṣas* was placed the entire Civil Service consisting of subordinate officers called *Yuktas*. They were a regular feature of the Mauryan administration referred to both in the As'okan Edicts (R. E. III) and the *Arthas'āstra* (II. 5, *sarvādhikaraṇeṣu yuktopayukta-tatpuruṣāṇām)*. Pāṇini's mention of both the *Adhyakṣas* and *Yuktas* points to the fact that these officers had become parts of the administrative system several centuries before Kauṭilya.

Pāṇini mentions some other subordinate officers, *e.g. gopāla*, cowherd; *tantipāla*, goatherd; and *yavapāla*, guard of barley fields (*Go-tanti-yavaṁ pāle*, VI. 2. 78). *Tantipāla* is mentioned also in the Virāṭaparva (XI. 8) having other *pāla* officers working under him. The *Pālas* of Pāṇini (*pāle, l.c.*) form a class of officers, of whom Kauṭilya mentions *nadīpāla, dravyapāla, vanapāla, nāgavanapāla, antapāla, durgapāla*, and the *Mahābhārata* refers to *sabhāpāla* (Adi., 222. 16), in addition to *gopāla* and *tantipāla*, known also to Pāṇini. The S*asa Jātaka* refers to *khettapāla* and *khettagopaka* (*Jāt*., III. 54) and the *Sīhachamma Jātaka* to *khettarakkhakā*, those watching barley and rice fields (II. 110), which corresponds to Pāṇini's *yavapāla*. Later we get *vihārapāla, ārāmapāla* and *dhammapāla* in the Buddhist tradition.

As specific instances of *Yukta* officers the *Kāśikā* mentions *go-saṅkhya* and *as'va-saṅkhya* who acted as census officers of royal cattle and horses and whose business it was to register their number, age and branding marks. Details of such a census of royal cattle held in the kingdom of Duryodhana occur in the Ghoṣayātrāparva (Vanaparva, chs. 239-40).

Kṣetrakara, an officer for surveying fields, and *lipikara*, a scribe (III.2.21, with the variant form *libikara*), both were subordinate officials known in the Mauryan administration also.

DŪTA. The *dūta* or emissary was named after the name of the country to which he was deputed (*Tad gacchati pathi-dutayoḥ*, IV. 3. 85). The term *pratiṣkaṣa* also denoted a messenger (VI. I. 152). Couriers were called *jaṅghākara* (III. 2. 21), corresponding to *jaṅghārika* of Kauṭilya (*Artha*. II, p.46). Pāṇini refers to a special term *yaujanika*, to denote a courier travelling one *yojana* (*Yojanaṁ gacchati*, V. 1. 74), to which Kātyāyana adds *yaujanaśatika*, *i.e.* a courier who is deputed on an errand of a hundred *yojanas*. This is in complete agreement with Kauṭilya who refers to the speed of Mauryan courier service in terms of the distances they travelled from a *yojana* to a hundred *yojanas*. The remuneration prescribed was ten *paṇas* for each *yojana* travelled up to 10 *yojanas*, and there-after twice as much in a rising scale from eleven to one hundered *yojanas* (*Artha*, V. 3., p. 248). A similar courier service was maintained in Achaemenian Iran, under king Xerxes and others almost contemporaneous with Pāṇini's time.

The message delivered orally by a *dūta* was called *vācika* (*Vāco vyāhṛtārthāyām*, V. 4. 35), and the action taken on it *kārmaṇa* (*Tad-yuktāt karmaṇo'ñ*, V. 4. 36, *vācikaṁ s'rutvā tathaiva yatkarma kriyate*, *Kās'ikā*). Pāṇini refers to an officer called *kartṛ-kara* (III. 2. 21), an obscure word unrecorded in literature, but in Pali *kartā* denoted the king's agent or messenger (Stede, *Pali Dict.*; *Jāt*, VI. 259, *etc.*), hence the person who selected or appointed him must have been so called.

ĀKRANDA. Pāṇini mentions special couriers called *ākrandika* (IV. 4. 38), deputed to an *ākranda* (*ākrandaṁ dhāvati*). The *Kās'ikā* takes it as a place of moaning or suffering (*ārtāyana*) which does not make sense. Kauṭilya defines *ākranda* as a friendly king in the rear of the *vijigīṣu* (*Artha*. II. 62. p. 31). Kullūka on *Manu* VII. 207 explains the word clearly saying that a hostile king in the rear was called *pārṣṇigrāha* and a friendly king in the rear who would act as a counter-check to the enemy at the back was known as *ākranda* (cf. S'ānti, 69, 19). Thus a messenger deputed to an *ākranda* king was called *ākrandika*.

One who considered himself strong enough to proceed against an enemy, because of his secure position in the political *Maṇḍala*, was called *abhyamitrīya* or *abhyamitrīṇa* (*Abhyamitram alaṅgāmī*, V. 2. 17.).

IDEALS OF ADMINISTRATION. The ideal of the state was good goverment (*saurājya*). Good government means state under a king (*rājā*), after whom it was called *rājanvān* (*Rājanvān saurājye*, VIII. 2. 14). This points to the theory advocated both in Kauṭilya and in *Jātakas*, according to which the institution of kingship emerged out of the people's desire to escape from the miseries attendant on 'no government' (the state of *mātsya-nyāya*). The people decided to elect a king, and thus making themselves *rājanvān* they realised the condition of peaceful society. The evils of kingless society, *arājaka rāṣṭra*, are described in the epics (cf. Ayodhyākāṇḍa, ch. 67; S'āntiparva, ch. 68).

FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT. The successful working of government in a monarchy depends on the qualities and personal character of the king and his ministers. Training of the king in disciplined life was termed *vainayika* (V. 4. 34). This is axactly the term used by Kauṭilya who deals with the training of princes in the chapter called *vinayādhikārika*. He considers *vinaya* as the foundation of successful governance.

The *Vinayādi-gaṇa* includes important terms relating to a variety of governmental functions of which the following may be noted : (1) *Sāmayika*, that which appertains to *samayas* or established contractual relationships ; (2) *Sāmayācārika*, the subject of customary law or usage — the term forms the subject of a section in the *Artha-s'āstra* (Book V, Sec. 5) —and as stated by Āpastamba was the basis of *dharma* (*Athātaḥ samayācārikān*

dharmān vyākhyāsyāmaḥ, Hindu Polity, II. 106); (3) *aupayika,* everything concerning ways and means (*Artha.* II. 10, p. 74); *Vyāvahārika,* transaction of law; (4) *Ātyayika,* urgent business, mentioned both by Kauṭilya (I. 15, p. 29) and Aśoka (R. E VI) as already seen, which required immediate attention of the king and his ministers; (5) *Sāmutkarṣika,* problems of development; (6) *Sāmpradānika* affairs relating to royal charities; (7) *Aupacārika,* state ceremonial; (8) *Sāmācārika* the business of correct procedure. Obviously the author of the *Gaṇapāṭha* is here in touch with living tradition borrowing these terms from actual administration.

MISCELLANEOUS DETAILS. We have already noticed the maintenance of a Civil List with respect to the allowances of the king's household, ministerial staff, and other government servants. Pāṇini, according to the requirements of grammar, mentions only a few names, *e.g.* the Chief Queen, mother of princes and some of their personal attendents (IV. 4. 48), but that should be taken as part of a regular system which is elaborated in the *Arthaśāstra.* Salaried staff is termed by Pāṇini as *vaitanika* (IV. 4. 12). We learn from the *Mahābhārata* that salary was disbursed on a monthly basis (Sabhāparva, 61. 22). Patañjali also refers to *bhṛtaka māsa,* or month as the unit of the time for payment of wages (II.275), and *bhṛtya-bharaṇīya* or wages of employees (*Bhāṣya,* I. 370). The term *karmaṇya* (V. 1. 100) indicates efficiency in work arising out of adequately remunerated work, as noted by Kauṭilya (*etāvatā karmaṇyā bhavanti, Artha.* V. 3, p. 247). Bribery is referred to (V. 1. 47); *e.g.* work for which a sum of rupees five was paid as bribe (*upadā*) was called *pañcaka*; the *Kāśikā* mentions the amounts of such bribes running up to a hundred or a thousand rupees. Reference is also made to the fabrication of accounts, *avastāra* (III. 3. 120), a term also known to the *Arthaśāstra* with reference to corruption prevailing in government offices (*Artha.* II. 8., p. 65) which resulted in the embezzlement of government money (*kośa-kṣaya*).

Secret means employed in the espionage office were called *upaniṣat,* a pejorative sense of the original word *Upaniṣad* which devoted secret or mystical doctrine (I. 4. 79). Kauṭilya uses *aupaniṣadikam* in the same sense (*Artha.,* XV). The adoption of such third degree methods was termed *upaniṣat kṛtya.* The *Gaṇapāṭha* (IV. 4. 12) also mentions *aupaniṣadika,* a spy making his living by secret means called *upaniṣat* (*upaniṣadā jīvati*). In this connection attention may be drawn to the term *viṣya,* which according to Pāṇini denoted a person marked out for administering poison (*viṣeṇa vadhyaḥ,* IV. 4. 91). This seems to be the nefarious practice of *rasadāḥ,* who formed a branch of the secret service (*Artha.,* I. 12, p. 21; V. 3, 248).

SOURCES OF REVENUE. Pāṇini makes a general reference to sources of revenue as *āya-sthāna;* the object of the *sūtra* is to teach that the name of the revenue is derived from the name of the source producing that income

Thagāyasthānebhyaḥ, IV. 3. 75). It appears that in the account registers maintained for revenue receipts, income was entered according to its source. For example, Patañjali mentions *s'aulkika*, revenue derived from toll taxes (cf. *s'aulkas'ālika*) in *Kāśikā; gaulmika*, forest plantations; *āpaṇika*, market places (IV. 2. 104. 13, II, 295); to which the *Kāśikā* adds *ākarika*, income from mines. Pāṇini himself refers to the payment of imposts called *s'ulka* (V. 1, 47). Toll tax was described in terms of its amount, *e.g. pañcaka*, goods on which a toll of rupees five was paid (*tad asmin s'ulkaḥ dīyate*, V. 1. 47).

Specific mention is made of *s'auṇḍika*, or income derived from excise (*s'uṇḍikādibhyo'ṇ*, IV. 3. 76). Kauṭilya states that the excise department was maintained as a State monopoly. Special regulations are given there to control the revenue from drinking booths. *S'uṇḍika* was the name of distilling plant, so called from the elongated condenser tube (*śundikā*) attached to the pot. Several specimens of them have been found at Takṣas'ilā from Kushāṇa levels.

In the *S'uṇḍikādi gaṇa* we find reference to other heads of income, as platforms (*sthaṇḍila*), probably let out in market places, wells (*udapāna*), stone quarries (*upala*), ferries (*tīrtha*), land (*bhūmi*), grasses (*tṛṇa*) and dry leaves (*parṇa*), the last two items indicating to what limits the sources of revenue were exploited. Even now, contracts for forest produce are let out by government for collection of leaves, weeds and grasses.

SPECIAL TAXES IN EASTERN INDIA. There is a provision in *sūtra* VI. 3. 10, to regulate the names of certain special texes in the eastern parts of India (*Kāranāmni ca Prācāṁ halādau*). Four examples are given by the *Kāśika*: (1) *Sūpe-śāṇaḥ*, a levy of one *śāṇa* coin (this coin is known from two *sūtras* of Pāṇini and was equal to one-eight of a *s'atamāna*) realised per kitchen or household; (2) *Mukuṭe-kārṣāpaṇam*, one *kārṣāpaṇa* coin per capita (*mukuṭa*); (3) *Dṛṣadi-māṣakaḥ*, one *māṣaka* coin collected from each hand-mill in a family; (4) *Hale-dvipādikā* and *Hale-tripadikā*, an impost of two or three *pāda* coins on each *hala* or plough-measure of land. These appear to have been customary levies imposed by the king on special occasions to meet emergent expenditure. Some of these taxes in modern terms are *pāg* (per head), *tāg* (per adult) or poll-tax, *hār* (per plough), etc. It may be noted that Pāṇini does not name them by the usual word *kara*, for 'tax', but they were known by the more emphatic word *kāra*. Pāṇini mentions a special class of officers named *Kārakara* (III. 2. 21), who, it appears, were entrusted with the raising of these taxes.

ACCOUNTING. *Gaṇana* was the term used for accounting, and *vigaṇana* for discharge of accounts (I. 3. 36). The Superintendent of accounts (*kārаṇika*) and the clerks (*kārmika*) are mentionhd by Kauṭilya in connection with the annual audit by the Accounts office (*Artha.* II. 7, p. 64). In the

Aṣṭādhyāyī these two officers are mentioned in the *Gaṇapāṭha, kāraṇika* in IV. 2. 116 and *kārmika* in V. 2. 116. Falsification of accounts was called *avastāra* (III. 3. 120). The *Kāśikā* reveals the importance of the Heads of the Accounts office (*gaṇakas*) when it refers to them as controlling all other officers from their desks in the accounts office (*tiṣṭhanto'nuśāsati gaṇakāḥ*, III. 2. 126).

3. Law and Justice

DHARMA AND NYĀYA. The word *dharma* in Pāṇini has a two-fold meaning, firstly an act of religious merit, *e.g.* one who performs *dharma* is called *dhārmkia* (IV. 4. 41); secondly it means custom or usage as in *sūtra* IV. 4. 92, according to which, an act which does not deviate from *dharma* or usage is called *dharmya* (*dharmād-anapeta*). Pāṇini refers to payments fixed by long usage as *dharmya* (IV. 4. 47; VI. 2. 65). This second meaning of *dharma* crystallised in the earliest law, of which the oldest compilations were known as *Dharmasūtras.* Āpastamba commences his work with the statement: *Athātaḥ samayācārikān dharmān vyākhyāsyāmaḥ* (*Āpas., Dh.Sū.*, I. 1. 1). 'We shall now propound *dharmas* or laws based on custom'. *Dharma* as a subject of study had been developed under the Vedic Caraṇas from before the time of Pāṇini, who refers to this subject in the *sūtra, Caraṇebhyo dharmavat* (IV. 2. 46), showing that the Vedic schools possessed distinctive texts to dealing with *dharma*, which were none else than the *Dharmasūtras.* Kātyāyana explains it (IV. 3. 120. 11) by saying that a *Caraṇa* had two-fold texts: (1) *āmnāya* or sacred tradition compiled as religious canon, and (2) *Dharma* or customary usages compiled from actual life.

Pāṇini takes *nyāya* as *abhreṣa*, non-deviation from traditional practice (III. 3. 37). An action in accordance with custom or usage was called *nyāyya* (IV. 4. 92), which was analogous to *dharmya.*

COURT. Matters concerning Civil Law were termed *vyāvahārika* (V. 4. 34, *Vinayādi gaṇa*). *Dharma-pati,* master of law, also occurs in a *gaṇa* (IV. 1. 84). The arbitrator chosen by the parties to a dispute was called *stheya* (*vivādapada-nirṇetā, Kāśikā*). The plaintiff or the complainant was known as *parivādī*, (III. 2. 142) or *parivādaka* III. 2. 146). A witness was *sākṣī*, whom Pāṇini defines as being an 'eye-witness' (*Sākṣād draṣṭari saṁjñāyām*, V. 2. 91). Later on those who possessed hearsay evidence were also called *sākṣī* (*Samakṣa-darśanāt sākṣī* ; *śravaṇād vā, Viṣṇudharmottara*, VIII. 13). According to the *sūtra, Svāmīśvara*, etc. (II. 3. 39) a witness was named according to the transaction or object in connection with which he was an eye-witness, *e.g.* a witness in relation to cows was called *go-sākṣī* and his evidence would be of use only on that particular point in the complaint.

The practice of administering oaths to witnesses was also known. *Sūtra* V. 4. 66, *Satyād-as'apathe*, prescribes a two-fold linguistic formation from the word *satya* : (1) *satyā-karoti* was used in connection with the payment of of earnest money to settle a bargain; (2) *satyaṁ karoti* was used in connection with the taking of oath. Manu informs us that this form of oath was reserved for a witness of the Brāhmaṇa caste (*satyena s'apayed vipram,* VIII. 113). For example, it was enough for a Brāhmaṇa to declare solemnly : 'I shall state the truth', and then proceed with his evidence. The form of the oath for other castes was different and of a more materialistic nature. This nice distinction known to Pāṇini must have been developed in the *Dharma—sūtras* whence the tradition came down to the *Smṛtis.*

A surety was called *pratibhū* in relation to the loan for which he was bound as surety.

CIVIL LAW. Of the various items of *Vyavahāra,* only inheritence is referred to in the *sūtras*. One who inherits is called *dāyāda,* and the property which he inherits *dāyādya* (*Dāyādyaṁ dāyāde,* VI. 2. 5). The *dāyāda* was designated according to the object in which he had beneficiary interest, *e.g.* if of several claimants one had an interest in cows only, he was called *go-dāyāda* (II. 3. 39).

A co-sharer is referred to as *aṃs'aka, i.e.,* entitled to a share (*aṁs'a*) in the property (*aṁs'aṁ hārī* , cf. *Manu,* IX. 150-53 for division of *aṁs'as*). The force of the suffix in the word *hārin* (*āvaśyake ṇiniḥ*) would make *aṁs'aka* an heir with legal sanction. Both *dāyāda* and *aṁs'a* are technical terms known to the *Dharmasūtras* (cf. *Vasiṣṭha Dh. Sū.*, 17. 25; 17. 48, 49, 51, 52).

CRIMINAL LAW. Crime was called *sāhasikya* (I. 3. 32). Various forms of crime are referred to, *e.g.* theft (*steya,* V. 1. 125), robbery (*luṇṭāka,* III. 2. 155) and way-laying (*paripanthaṁ ca tiṣṭhati,* IV. 4. 36). The word *aikāgārikaṭ* (V. 1. 113) means a thief, one how waits for an opportunity to enter a house when empty. Buddhist texts use the term in a different sense, *i.e.,* a monk who begged his food from one house only. In the *Majjhima Nikāya* Gautama describes himself as an *ekāgārika, dvyāgārika* and *saptāgārika* (*Mahāsīhanāda Suttanta*).

Various forms of the use of defamatory language (*upavāda*) and of expressing censure are given.

Punishment both by way of fines and physical torture is mentioned. The former was called *daṇḍa,* as in *sūtra* V. 4. 2 which regulates the expression for indicating the amount of fine, *e.g.* a fine of two *pāda* coins was mentioned as *dvipadikāṁ daṇḍitaḥ*; similarly *dvis'atikāṁ daṇḍitaḥ,* a fine of 200 *kārṣāpaṇas.* An accused adjudged for punishment was called *daṇḍya* (V. 1. 66, *daṇḍam*

arhati: cf. Yāska, II. 2. referring to one fit for clubbing and called *musalya*). Mutilation of limbs was called *cheda*, and the criminal so punished *chaidika* (V. 1. 64). Capital punishment was *s'īrṣa-cheda* (V. 1. 65). Heinous crimes as infanticide and murder (*kumāraghāta, s'īrṣaghāta*, III. 2. 51) are mentioned; and also destroying an embryo (*bhrauṇahatya*, VI. 4. 174) and killing a Brāhmaṇa (*brahmahā*, III. 2. 87). Kauṭilya was in favour of stern administration of criminal justice and mentions *uccheda* or death (II. 13, p. 87) and *cheda* or multilation of limbs as punishments for serious crimes (*Artha*, IV. 11., p. 229).

Origins of the Buddha Image—A Study

By

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The origin of the Buddha image is still a fruitful field of controversy. The Pāṭaliputra school of the Mauryan period has left a Didarganj *yakṣiṇī*, a few portrait heads found at Sarnath and Patna; but no images of the 'Master'. With the advent of the 'Demotic' school, we are amazed to find that the anthropomorphical representations of the 'fully enlightened One' are conspicuous by their absence at Barhut, Sanchi, Bodh Gaya and Amaravati. His presence was indicated only by symbols. It was A. Foucher who first suggested that the Buddha image was introduced by the Indo-Greek school of Gāndhāra, a fact which was challenged by Dr. A. Coomaraswamy[1]. The main problem has been, as pointed out by Waldschmidt, 'Gāndhāra or Greece, ? and 'Mathurā or India'. The discussion, however, has been chiefly subjective, and absence of marshalling of any evidence of the objective kind is a characteristic feature of the discussions. A large amount of Gāndhāra images have *ex-voto* records inscribed on them, and the correct dates of the individual pieces require to be determined, as Herzfeld has done with Kushano-Sassanian coins, R. D. Banerji with Bengal and Magadhan school of sculptures, and Majumdar with *sa* on As'okan edicts and Azes II coins. Till such an effort has been made, the genesis of the Indo-Hellenistic school will always remain a moot point.

The theory, that since the Mathurā Buddha images cannot be dated previous to the Christian era and since the so-called beginnings of the Indo-Hellenistic school go back to the 2nd century B. C. and, therefore, the semi-Greek art of Gāndhāra originated the figure of Buddha, is arguing in a 'circle.' Notwithstanding the volumes that have been published on the art of Mathurā, we know so little about it except that it probably originated in the all pervading 'Demotic' school, whose regional types are Barhut, Sanchi etc., —that no dogmatism is possible. Secondly, the image of Buddha in the provincial art of Gāndhāra was as much Indian in concept and character as the heterogenous culture of the tract permitted. Nevertheless, the form and the spirit is Indian, which is quite different from the marble peaks of Greece, with its sporting Apollo and nymph like Venus. What is more, they offer an idealised version by an abstract school of art and indicate introspection and devotion, which are foreign to the ideals of Greek art.

It would be useless to give a list of different views for which better

1. Coomaraswamy, A. : The Origin of the Buddha Image in *Art Bulletin*, Vol. ix, No. 4, New York, 1927.

references exist[2]. The principals are Dr. L. Bachchofer[3] who dates the earliest Gāndhāra Buddha later than the Christian era, and Waldschmidt who placed the Mathurā Buddha a century later[4]. Dr. William Cohn[5] also suggested the possibilities of Indian origin of the Buddha image. Mr. K. de ,B. Codrington[6] found the Greek side unintelligible and was bold enough to point out that Foucher's theory did not have any fixed point, and there was no reason for antedating Gāndhāra art to establish an alleged origin of the Buddha image. Dr. Sten Konow was responsible for the theory that Gāndhāra school commenced after the Kushāṇas[7]; while Dr. E. Herzfeld felt that the Gāndhāra monuments are later than Graeco-Bactrian empire[8]. The latest writer on the subject is W. W. Tarn some of whose remarks deserve to live[9]. His theory of Greek art for Greeks in Bactria, Ariana and Arachosia have been controverted by Col. D. H. Gordon, and his chronology mortally wounded by Chakravarti[10]. He seems to have forgotten that the point at issue is neither history nor psychology, but the evidence leading to the creation of the Buddha image, and not merely a chronology establishing the date of Gāndhāra Buddha; and that evidence too is subjective and not objective. What is more, the evidence should be at liberty to lead, instead of being led, in support of any particular aesthetics.

In support of his theory, he brought in the coin of Maues which has been dealt with by Chakravarti. We propose to quote him: 'The Greek, we have seen was becoming Indianised from about the beginnings of the first century and therewith was born the Gāndhāra art.' In fact, however the Indo-Hellenistic school was not born with the Greeks of first century B. C., but later. He merely begs the question. He continues to say 'the Indian Buddhists, influenced by *bhakti* wanted the story of the life and previous lives of Buddha cut in stone, and the Greek now......... ready to response'[11]. But this is not borne out by the evidence. The actual representation of the life and the previous births of the seventh Buddha had been carved in central India, long before the Greeks in their Asiatic *poleis* condescended to respond. What is more, they were based upon a style and aesthetics, which was being practised in Asia when Phidias and Praxiteles had yet to immortalise themselves in the neighbourhood

2. L. de la Valee Pousin: *Ancient India and Indian Civilisation*, 1934. pp. 244ff.
3. *Die Fruhindische Kunst*, 1929, p. 116.
4. Knewicklunggeschichte des Buddha bildes in Indien, *OZ*. 1930, p. 273.
5. Buddha in *Der Kunst des Ostens*, 1925, pp. xxvi-xxvii; and *OZ*. 1930, p. 285.
6. *Ancient India*, 1926, pp. 50-51.
7. *Sitzungsberichte d. Preussian Akademie d. Wissenchaften zu Berlin*, 1928, p. 565.
8. *Archaeological History of Iran*, p. 58.
9. Tarn, W.W.: *The Greeks in India and Bactria*, 1938., pp. 393ff.
10. *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*. Vol. xvi, Pt. ii, pp. 63ff. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. x, (Letters) pp. 1-4.
11. Tarn, W.W.: *op. cit.* pp. 404-05.

of Hellespont as we notice in the stele of Naram-Sin. The composition of the so-called 'Pāśupata-S'iva seal' and seals depicting the 'Cretan-Bull' games share the same principles of 'inverted perspective' and 'horizontal projection'. They betray the same extreme nature sympathies. Only the hiatus prevents us from making any definite conclusions. His remarks are *possibly* true of the north-west, where, with some justification, it can be claimed that, there is no evidence of earlier plastic activity. But craftsmen from north-west, who carved *Kharoshṭhi* masons marks on the balusters of Barhut, left indications of the existences of the 'Demotic' school in Gāndhāra and Bactria. If the Greek mind created the human figure of Buddha, why is it then, it was left to S'aka-Maues to portray it on coins and no earlier piece of sculpture or coin have been found? And, Menander was a Buddhist.

There are, however, grounds for believing that not only the two types of Buddha image (Gāndhāra and Mathurā), differ morphologically, but in spirit as well. The iconographical peculiarities in a system broad based on devotion to the founder and the way of *nirvāṇa* established by him, were not realised or appreciated by them, not because they were purely Greeks, but Indians with considerable race admixture. This brings us to the question whether these alleged faults were due to Greek artists? In this respect, Tarn has made our task easier by emphasizing on the character of the 'March State' of Bactria and origin and development of Greek military colonial empire in Asia since the reign of Seleukos. It is a moot point, how far and to what extent, these erstwhile military colonies contained artistic talents. In fact, an analysis of the art of the north-west shows, that it was Asiatic in style and technique while floating Hellenistic and Romano-Hellenistic motifs pervade it. Therefore, while not denying the presence of a microscopic minority of mediocre Greek craftsmen, we must emphasize that this was due to the rudimentary culture in mountainous valleys' and wide 'Culture Complex' in the north-west. These heterogeneous collections of men were unable to appreciate the conception of the *Mahāyogī*. The Buddhist tradition held that on the banks of the Anomā, Gautama cut off his hair which turned to the right (*dakṣiṇāvartta*). Yet, throughout the early phase of this plastic activity we find the heads of the Gāndhāra Buddhas covered with silken wavy curls, not even shaved. This significant indifference to scriptural injunctions in undoubted cult images, has never been explained. Some of the signs of Buddha's greatness are undoubtedly present, but the question whether the individual specimens are late or early, has never been satisfactorily determined. Amongst the *mudrās*, the following have been noticed; *dhyāna*, *abhaya*, and *dharma-cakra*. Why the other *mudrās* are absent has never been explained. The *abhaya* is the *mudrā* which occurs in the earliest specimens at Mathurā. Therefore, whether the presence of the other *mudrās* in Gāndhāra, denote fresh cultural waves from Brahmāvartta is a moot point? The presentations of the *dharma-cakra-pravarttana*

ritualistic or plastic purpose, and that form has no relationship with the ideals of the ruling people but with a different people with different aesthetic and religious ideals. How did the Indians give up their early objections to the anthropomorphical representation of the 'fully enlightened One', has probably a far more simpler answer. The foreign elements had undoubtedly a share, but not in the way that has been supposed. How did the early Christian art with its antipathy for 'ikons' and images undergo complete transformation and developed the practice of saints and ikons? How the successors of simple worshippers of the 'wooden cross' in the 'ghettos' of imperial Rome developed the most varied iconometry, which at one time was reviled as idolatry, is too well known. Racial contact with people worshipping images and ikons must have brought home to the early Buddhists the necessity of giving a human shape to the Buddha. The statue of Nanaia in Bakhtra, the Hindu gods, the figure of *yakṣas*, introspection and devotion, all collectively brought about this revolutionary change. Add to it, the receptive quality of the mass mind, to whom an unseen object of worship is unthinkable. The symbol did not satisfy the cravings for the totem and ikons, whom he could approach in hours of distress, when the mind was overburdened with misery and misgivings, whom he could show honour in prosperity. The enternal craving for a form for the formless, I believe is a far easier and natural way of solving the problem. The claims for an existing 'archtype' from which both the regional types might have been evolved is confirmed by the morphological differences between the two. The chief characteristic of the Gāndhāra Buddhas are: its smaller size, the *uṣṇīṣa* covered with wavy hair, the *ūrṇā*, the drapery with rhythmic folds in high relief having no apparent connection with the body. The figure stands firmly on the legs or sits in a posture inconceivable to a Hellenic mind. In the *Bodhisattva* figures the crowns, the jewels, the dress with their horizontal and perpendicular lines are consistent. But it is impossible to imagine the prince who cut off his locks with his sword on the banks of the Anomā, wearing them in after life as a *Mahāyogī*. Evidently, the artists were in a temporising mood or were depending on different influences. Does it then follow that the artists were Greeks? A large percentage of Greek blood is always to be presupposed but it does not imply existence of artists of pure Greek descent in the courts of Bactria, Kabul etc. By the time that the Buddha image had been carved they had become 'north-western Indians'?

The Mathurā Buddhas on the other hand represent a different aesthetic. Its chief characteristics are shaven head and spiral *uṣṇīṣa*, an *ūrṇā* and eye-brows treated by a high ridge. The drapery covers its one shoulder only and its folds fade below the armpits. It shows its morphological difference with Gāndhāra. Its volume and mass it owes to the 'Demotic art' whose earliest example is Didaraganj *yakṣiṇī*, the volume and mass now

spiritualised by devotion. Same is the case with its flattened sides and crude attempt at creating three dimensional effects. Where then is its indebtedness to Gāndhāra? In fact, however, such an inference cannot be proved. Broad based on national aesthetics, it had discarded foreign elements after assimilation. Honestly it shows their inherent commonsense, as half digested Hellenistic traditions would have done less credit to their powers of appreciation. This Mathurā Buddha breathes of long experience in the design of the image which has seldom been appreciated. It was an original creation by the people who lived practically on the frontiers of the Ganges valley. Did they originate the image of Buddha? On such matters there is still likely to be difference of opinion; conclusive evidence may never be forthcoming, and any theory based on subjective data would never be found. Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda suggested that it is difficult to separate the Jina and Buddha images of Mathurā.[14] According to him the 'introduction of image worship in Jainism and Buddhism is evidently due to the introduction of an element of *bhakti* in these creeds, that at their start, were branches of *jñāna-mārga* (or path of knowledge) inaugurated by the *Upaniṣads* which aimed at perfect knowledge (*kevala* or *bodhi*) as the goal.' An element of *bhakti* is always to be presupposed in Buddhism for without faith or devotion in the 'Master' one could not have obtained *saṃjñā* (knowledge) for *nirvāṇa*. But was it the *bhakti* cult in the form we know it to-day? Secondly, how far in the early centuries of Christian era *Upaniṣads* had taken their present shape is another moot point. But factual evidence tells us that in these days of religious revival which is proved at least at Mathurā by hundreds of ikons, images and *disjecta membra*, a new urge is noticeable.

The probability, however, lies in an archtype which existed. It is impossible to assume that a Hellenistic mind could have appreciated the ideal of a *Mahāyogī* or the deep philosophical speculations lying behind 'Being and Becoming.' Dr. Radhakamal Mukherji states: 'The fathomless existence of Buddhahood or Being is something more than immortality of the individual in Buddhism'[15]. It would have been beyond the imagination of an artist, realism and a sporting Apollo were whose creeds. The Greek culture in Asia was in the nature of military colonies and Bactria itself was a 'March State.' It is impossible that when Bactria was bleeding itself to death, a Greek mind could have conceived an image of the 'Buddha' based upon most faithful pursuit of all eastern philosophies. Such a conclusion is not only irrational but is at variance with all the known human experiences. Secondly, the

14. *A.R. A.S.I.*, 1925-26, pp. 124-125. Cf, also Dr. Helmuth von Glasenapp, opinion in his paper Zur Vorgeschichte des Buddha Bildes in *Bhāratīya Anuśīlana*, Allahabad, V. S. 1990, pp. 3-7 (Lalitakalā).

15. Significance of Indian Art Motifs—*Bhārata Kaumudī*, Pt. I, pp. 48ff.

question whether any sculptor of great merit did actually reside there is a moot point. The so-called Apollo type is probably positive proof to unconscious influence. There was no Greek art for themselves in Bactria, Archosia etc. What they had done is to have followed age old Indian methods and Indian technique and in this act having been unconsciously influenced by the existing cycle of culture.

The origins of Buddha image is a question, which requires to be studied with reference to its primitives. An archtype which inspired both the Gāndhārites as well as the people of Mathurā, both the parties evolving regional sub-types from it. The influence of Greece on India was impermanent. Deep in its bosom India did not accept the westernising policy. It carried on its own traditional life. The less cultured primitive inhabitants of a rugged mountainous country with lesser stable cultural traditions accepted elements of it. The nomads from the desert with their inferior culture introduced it to the service of the Buddhist church in the north-west, and once that character was obtained, specimens taken to various parts of the Buddhist world established the so-called Hellenistic influence. While the old country, true to its age old culture and orthodoxy discarded what was third rate and redundant, to decay again for want of fresh contacts. Buddha image, therefore, originated in India which as an 'archtype' inspired the so-called Hellenized Indian, who lay a mantle of folds over it. Therein lay their originality, because thereby they created a regional type very different from Mathurā which evolved its own type consistent with its environments.

Conception of the King as 'Servant of the People' in Hindu Political Theory

By

U N. GHOSHAL, *Calcutta.*

In his recently published learned work, *State and Government in Ancient India*, (pp. 64-65) Dr. A. S. Altekar has tried to establish with a wealth of argument his view that one of the important notions of our ancient Indian thinkers about the king was that 'he was the servant of the people'. His argument in favour of this view which was derived from his interpretation of text of *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra* (I. 10. 18. 1) has been examined by me in another place[1]. I propose to consider here his second argument based upon a text of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.

In one of his chapters (X. 3) belonging to the section on warfare, Kauṭilya tells us how a king's troops are to be encouraged at the battlefield. Assembling his troops, the king, we read, should speak in the following vein; 'I share the gain equally with yourselves : this kingdom is to be enjoyed by me along with yourselves' : संहत्य दण्डं ब्रूयात् तुल्यवेतनोस्मि, भवद्भिः सह भोग्यमिदं राज्यम्[2] which comes immediately after the preceding sentence, संग्रामस्तु निर्दिष्टकालो धर्मिष्ठः. This construction is preferable to one adopted by Shamasastry and Jolly-Schmidt and followed by Dr. Altekar (*op. cit.* p. 67 *n*) which is as follows : संग्रामस्तु निर्दिष्टकालो धार्मिष्ठः संहत्य दण्डं ब्रूयात् etc. For the former reading unlike the latter indicates the nature of righteous battle in contrast with treacherous fighting referred to immediately before. The above text is cited by Dr. Altekar (*op. cit.* p. 64) as an illustration of the notion that the king was 'the servant of the people.' Kauṭilya, he argues, here points out how 'the king was on the same footing as his soldiers, both receiving their different wages and both being entitled to share the assets of the nation'. This interpretation is, however, open to grave objections. Thus, in the first place, the true purpose of the above address is indicated, apart from the general heading under which it appears, by its concluding words which direct the troops to slay the enemies to be pointed out by the king. In the following lines, we are told how the *mantrī* and the *purohita* are to be asked by the king to remind the troops of the high rewards of heroes promised in the holy Vedic texts and in the sayings of early teachers. Soothsayers and fortune-tellers, the author continues, should proclaim the king's omniscience and

1. Presidential Address at the 14th Session of the Indian History Congress, Section 1.

2. The text in the original is according to the reading of T. Gaṇapati S'āstri.

direct contact with the gods, while bards and minstrels are to proclaim the rewards of heroes and the penalties of cowards. Finally, we are told with almost brutal frankness that the *senāpati* is to announce to the troopers cash payments for slaying the enemy's men and equipage, the doubling of their pay and so forth. In the light of the above, we can conclude that the king's address quoted above was meant by Kauṭilya to be part and parcel of an all-out effort for ensuring victory in the battlefield. In the second place, the true meaning of the phrase 'this kingdom' (इदं राज्यम्) in the passage above quoted is indicated by the verbal formation भोग्यम् ('to be enjoyed') which shows it to refer to the enemy's kingdom and not that of the king himself. This makes it probable that the remarkable expression तुल्यवेतन in the immediately preceding sentence refers to the gain of both in the forthcoming victory. The above also is in accordance with the explanation of T. Gaṇapati S'āstri on the passage in question. This explanation is corroborated by the concluding words of the *senāpati*'s address which promise the spoils of victory to the winners of the same (स्वयंग्राहः). To state in the face of these facts that 'the king was on the same footing as the soldiers, both receiving their wages and both being entitled to share the assets of the nation', is to indulge in a misapprehension. It follows from the above that the extract quoted above contains no warrant, even for purpose of propaganda in camp, for a notion to the effect that the 'king is the servant of the people.' Another extract which takes us from the camp to the capital city (I. 13) gives us a diametrically opposite notion of the alleged relation of the ruler to his subjects. Here Kauṭilya, introducing his chapter on the method of securing of friendly as well as hostile factions within the king's own territory, gives us a concrete instance of secret propaganda for ensuring this objective. Spies, he says, should collusively raise disputations in various public places in the following way 'This king,' one spy should say, 'is heard to be endowed with all good qualities, but no such quality is perceivable in him, and on the other hand he oppresses his subjects with fines (or punishments) and taxes'. Contradicting this spy and others in agreement with him, another spy should speak as follows : 'When people were overcome by anarchy, they selected Manu, the son of the Sun (वैवस्वत) as their king and they fixed as his share one-sixth of the crops, one-tenth of merchandise and the tax technically called ***hiraṇya*** ('cash assessment for special crops') Receiving this share, kings undertake the burden of granting security to their subjects.' Referring evidently to the plea above mentioned, the argument proceeds to state that the king's fines (or punishments) and taxes take away the sins of the subjects and promote their security. In further justification of the king's claim to taxes, it is pointed out, that even forest-dwelling ascetics offer one-sixth of their gleaning to the king as the due of one who protects them. The argument concludes by invoking an idea which is foreign to that of the king's choice by

popular election. Kings, we read, are visible dispensers of rewards and punishments and as such they occupy the position of the gods, Indra and Yama (respectively): hence he who slights them is visited with divine punishment. Thus, says the author, the lowly folk should be silenced. It is unnecessary to speak here in detail about the significance of this remarkable passage. Suffice it to say that it is openly introduced to us as a piece of commonplace propanganda to be undertaken by the ubiquitous agency of spies for consolidating the kings authority within his kingdom. Of its two distinct and somewhat contradictory strands of thought, the one involving the theory of a governmental compact is evidently one-sided in the sense that while it involves the subjects' obligation to pay taxes, it is silent about the king's reciprocal duty of protection. On the contrary, it insists that the king's exercise of his rights benefits the people both spiritually and materially. To strengthen this principle of the king's authority, the passage above quoted invokes the doctrine of his quasi-divinity, from which follows the subjects' religious obligation of honouring their ruler.

In so far, then, as the limited purpose of propaganda in the king's favour in the military camp as well as the city is concerned, the texts lead us to the conclusion that Kauṭilya, so far from conceiving the king as 'servant of the people,' held authority to be firmly based partly upon the terms of the original compact and partly upon the king's parity of functions with those of the deities. What, then, is Kauṭilya's own view regarding the position of the ruler in relation to his subjects? Of a truly philosophical theory bearing on this problem, it is true, there is in Kauṭilya no trace. On the other hand, Kauṭilya leaves us in no doubt about the king's position in the complex of the constituent elements (*prakṛti*) of the kingdom. Thus, at the end of his chapter on the good qualities of the *prakṛtis* (VI. 1), he observes that when they act 'limb-like' in relation to one another, they contribute to the king's prosperity, that the king who is qualified can make the other *prakṛtis*, though devoid of qualities, prosper, and finally that the king who is not so qualified destroys even the *prakṛtis* that are good and are attached to himself. In the same spirit he argues (VIII. 4) that the mutual quarrels of rulers are a worse evil than those of the *prakṛtis*. Above all, Kauṭilya (VIII. 1), characteristically enough, defends against Bhāradvāja's criticism the authoritative view that the troubles (व्यसन) of the king are more serious than those of the *amātyas*, his argument being clinched in the epigram that the king stands to the *prakṛtis* in the position of their root (तत्कूटस्थानीयो हि स्वामी). This last statement pushes to its extreme limit the dictum pronounced by Kauṭilya in another context (VIII. 2) where he sums up the category of *prakṛtis* under the two broad heads of the king (*rājā*) and the kingdom (*rājya*). The governmental structure involved in the category of the seven limbs is ultimately resolvable, according to this view, into one element (viz., the king), of whom all the rest are derivatives.

In conclusion, we may quote for purpose of comparison a striking passage from a much later work, viz., the famous commentary of Medhātithi on *Manusmṛti*. Giving a specimen of the king's war-address to his troops on the eve of battle, Medhātithi says (comm. on *Manu*. VII. 190) that the king should promise the award of honours and presents to the troops at the end of the battle. He should also address them in the following remarkable words recalling those of Kauṭilya quoted above : 'I am king only in name, all of us are equal sharers in respect of the enjoyment of wealth'. Still, in the fashion of Kauṭilya the king in Medhātithi's text concludes by saying : 'Should we win, we would acquire a kingdom and should we lose, we should win heaven : it is for this reason that we have gathered together'. From this it would evidently be improper to infer that 'the king stood on the same footing as his soldiers' or that 'both were entitled to share the assets of the nation.' On the contrary, the above passage like that of Kauṭilya is evidently meant to be a piece of propaganda in camp without any constitutional significance whatever. Thus Medhātithi after the lapse of many centuries confirms and corroborates Kauṭilya's use of a transparent political shibboleth for the identical purpose of ensuring victory on the battlefield.

References to Tāmbūla in Indian Inscriptions between A. D. 473 and 1800

By

P. K. GODE, *Poona*.

Though the history of the betel-chewing habit of the Aryans in India for about 2000 years can be easily established on the strength of literary sources, it is difficult to get any references to this habit in inscriptions especially prior to A. D. 1000. It is, therefore, necessary to record whatever references one can gather in inscriptions in respect of *Tāmbūla* or betel with its ingredients like the *Chunam*, *Catechu* etc. In continuation of my studies in the history of *Tāmbūla* and its ingredients[1], I record below some references to *Tāmbūla* in inscriptions with a view to providing to my historical study a steel frame of inscriptional data, the chronology of which is more definite than that of literary sources on which I have depended for the history of the cultural aspects of *Tāmbūla*.

The earliest reference[2] to *Tāmbūla* occurs in an inscription of *A. D. 473*. In 1939, I made inquiries with my esteemed and learned friend Dr. H. N. R. Randle, Librarian, India Office Library, London, about references to *Tāmbūla* if any, in Greek and Roman sources. Dr. Randle replied to me seven years after my inquiry. It is very rarely that scholars who are engrossed in their own work, remember inquiries from brother-scholars for a long time and send helpful replies to such inquiries. I, therefore, reproduce below Dr. Randle's reply dated *28th September, 1946* with my grateful thanks to him not only for this reply but for his scholarly co-operation with me for more than twenty years as the Librarian of the India Office Library.

1. I am thankful to my friend Dr. Lokesh Chandra of Nagpur for drawing my attention to a botanical study of the ingredients of *Tāmbūla*, viz. *'The story of Pān-Chewing in India'* by M. Gowda, Deputy Superintendent, Govt Gardens, Lal Bagh, Bangalore (Botanical Museum Leaflets, Harvard University, Vol. 14, No. 8, (15-1-1951, pages 181-214). The economic importance of the betel-nut palm is very great. About 8/10 million dollars worth of betel-nuts are used annually in India. Over 56,000 tons of betel-nuts are imported into India annually. All the surplus betel-nut production of Ceylon, Straits Settlements, Indonesia etc., is absorbed by India. The acreage of betel-palm cultivation is as follows :—Bombay State (22, 700 acres), Madras (108, 600), Mysore (34, 500), Burma (30, 750), Bengal and Assam (greater acreage than any other State).

2. This reference has been mentioned by my friends Shri R. N. Saletore and Shri A. N. Gulati in their recent publications noted below :—

(1) *Life in the Gupta Age*, (2) *Patolu in Gujarat*.

The para pertaining to *Tāmbūla* in Dr. Randle's letter referred to above reads as follows :—

'I have had in mind since 1939 an inquiry which you then made as to references in Greek and Roman authors to *betel*. Schoff in his translation of the *Periplus* says that Mc Crindle was mistaken in finding a reference to *betel* there. The reference is to trade in cassia-leaves. Certainly *malabathron* represents *tamāla-patra* and one does not see any reason why *betel-leaf* should have been exported. I think the result is negative, i.e. there is no reference in Greek and Latin.

I shall be interested to learn how far back you have traced references to *betel* in Sanskrit works. I remember a reference in the *Mandasor Silk Weavers' inscription of 473 A. D.* (Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* No. 18), lines 11-12 (of the inscription) :—

"तारुण्य-कान्त्युपचितोऽपि सुवर्ण-हार-
ताम्बूल-पुष्पविधिना समलंकृतोऽपि ।
नारीजनः प्रियमुपैति न तावदश्रयाम्
यावन्न पट्टमय-वस्त्र-युगानि धत्ते ॥"

I took this to mean :—

'Now women-folk may be young and lovely, and they may have the customary garland and *pān* and flowers to hand, but they will never go to meet a lover in the trysting place unless they have first put on their two-piece garment of silk'.[3]

The stanza quoted above from a silk-weavers' inscription of A. D. 473 would serve as a good advertisement for any silk-manufacturing modern mill as it advertises silk garments in quite a modern fashion. In fact the ancient Indian silk weavers rightly claimed the credit of providing an added charm by their silk garments to young and beautiful ladies bedecked with gold necklaces and flowers and with their lips reddened by the use of *Tāmbūla*. This make-up of ancient Indian damsels remains almost unchanged during the last 1500 years, with the only exception of the lip-stick which is now used for giving colour to the lips instead of the use of *Tāmbūla* for the same purpose. But the use of the lip-stick has not spread to the country side,

3. Fleet's translation of the verse is as follows :—

Page 85 —'(Just as) a woman, though endowed with youth and beauty (and) adorned with the arrangement of golden necklaces and *betel-leaves* and flowers, goes not to meet (her) lover in a secret place, until she has put on a pair of coloured silken cloths, — (so) etc.'

[The correct text of line 3 in the verse quoted above is as follows :—
नारीजन: श्रियम् उपैति न तावद्-अग्रयाम् Ed.]

where the use of *Tāmbūla* is very common as an aid to beauty.

The reference to *Tāmbūla* in a Gupta inscription of *A. D. 473* supports the present belief of some scholars that *Tāmbūla* was introduced into India from the South Sea Islands like Java, Sumatra etc. during the early Gupta period as a result of the increased maritime contact of India with these islands. The references to *Tāmbūla* and its ingredients found in Kālidāsa's works, and the early medical texts like the *Caraka Saṁhitā*, *Kās'yapa Saṁhitā*, *Sus'ruta Saṁhitā* etc. are in harmony with this inscriptional reference of *A. D. 473*, which further confirms the verses about *Tāmbūla* in the section on Cosmetics and Perfumery (*Gandhayukti*, chapter 77) in the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* of the celebrated astronomer Varāhamihira, who was born about A. D. 490 according to S. B. Dikshit.[4]

In the Nagar inscription of Dhanika dated (Vikrama) *Saṁvat 741* (=*A. D. 685*) edited by S. S. Guleri in the *Bhārata-kaumudī* (Dr. R. K. Mookerji Commemoration Volume), Allahabad, Part I, 1945, we find references to *karpūra*[5] (camphor) and *Tāmbūla* in the following extract :—

Page 274—lines 8 and 9 on the inscription :—

"वक्त्रं चन्द्रनिभं ललाटफलके न्यस्तं लसल्लोचनं ।
दत्ताङ्ग(ङ्गे)पि जलादिद्रका तनुतरे कर्पूर-धूलीधरा
भर्त्तुर्वल्लभया तथापि न हृतो य(त्कोप)तापोद्गमः ॥१०॥
स्यालोललोचनजलप्लुतिलाञ्छितानि
लम्बालकानि ललितस्मितवर्जितानि ।
त(ता)म्बूलरागरहिताधरभाञ्जि यस्य
कोपश्चकार वदनान्यरिसुन्दरीणाम् ॥११॥"

The foregoing extract gives us a description of the sorry plight of the wives of the enemies as a result of the exploits of the king, whose wrath brought tears to the eyes of these wives and removed the smiles on their faces and the red colour[6] of *Tāmbūla* on their lower lips.

The following references to *betel-nuts* and *Tāmbūla* in old *Kannaḍa*

4 *History of Indian Astronomy* (in Marathi), Poona, 1896, p. 212.

5. The first Western mention of camphor (*caphura*) occurs in the Greek Medical writer Aëtius (*C. A. D. 540*) but it probably came through the Arabs (vide article on *Camphor*, in *Hobson-Jobson* by Yule and Burnell, London, 1903, p. 151). It has been suggested that the word for camphor was originally Javanese in which language *kāpūr* appears to mean both *lime* and *camphor.*

6. The mention of the colour produced by *Tāmbūla* chewing presumes the use of two main ingredients viz. *Chunam* and *Catechu*, the antiquity of which has been established by me for about 2000 years (see my article in the *Chandabai Volume*).

inscriptions in South Kanara and the Bellary District of the Madras Province are noteworthy as they show the production of the *betel-nuts* and betel-leaves between A. D. 750 and 962 in South India. South Kanara is still famous for its betel-nuts as it appears to have been more than 1200 years ago. The *Kannaḍa* inscriptions under reference are as follows:—

(1) *Inscription of A.D. 750-70* (South Kanara of Madras Province) refers to the word '*aḍakeya*' meaning 'of *areca-nuts*' (vide p. 116 of '*Historical Grammar of Old Kannaḍa*' by G. S. Gai, Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, 1946).

The word '*aḍake*' means 'areca-nut'. The word for nut-cracker viz. '*aḍkittā*' current in the Marathi language for more than 400 years is of *Kannaḍa* origin as I have proved in my paper on the *Indian Nut-cracker*[7].

(2) *Inscription of A.D. 962* (Bellary District of Madras Province) refers to '*Taṁbulam*' (areca-nuts, leaves etc., vide p. 163 of G. S. Gai's *Grammar of Old Kannaḍa* referred to above).

The production of *betel-nuts* on a large scale in the districts of the Bombay Presidency including the Karnatak and South Indian districts from A.D. 1000 onwards is amply vouched by the following inscriptions:—

A.D. 1028—A stone-slab inscription at Hosur in the Gadag Taluka of the Dharwar District of the reign of Jagadekamalladeva I records the grant of an *areca-nut garden* and house sites made by Aycha-gāvuṇḍa to the *basadi* constructed by him in memory of his wife (vide *Inscription No. 65* on page 55 of *Bombay Karnatak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Part I, Madras, 1940, *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol, XI, Part I).

A.D. 1061—Ibid., Inscription No. 96 (Dharwar District) records the gift of one *paṇa* and *100 areca-nuts on every areca-palm garden to 400 mahājans of Brahmapurī.*

A.D. 1050—Inscription No 107 (page 82 of *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, Part I, Madras, 1939) records the gift of *land with some rows* of *areca-nut trees*, a flower-garden and an oil-mill to Vidyānidhi Paṇḍita for the service of God.

A.D. 1079—Ibid., Inscription No. 141 records the grant of land for the service of God Rāmesʹvara. The five-hundred merchants of the place made *a gift of kāṇi per load of betel-leaves.*

A.D. 1135[8]*—Ibid., Inscription No. 232* records the '*gift of 500 leaves* for the

7. *See Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁsʹhodhana Maṇḍala Quarterly*, Poona, 1948, pp. 8-14.

8. In the encyclopaedic work '*Mānasollāsa*' (G. O. Series, Baroda, Vol, II) composed by the Cālukya King Somesʹvara about *A. D. 1130*, there is a chapter on *Tāmbūlabhoga*, which describes in detail the different ingredients of *Tāmbūla* and their use. The names of places

service of the God *Jakkes'vara*'. This is a gift by some Seṭṭis of the place.

A D. 1142—Ibid., Inscription No. 238—An officer under Vīrapāṇḍavadeva and other persons made a *grant of the toll on three lacs of areca-nuts for the service of the God Gavares'varadeva.*

A.D. 1292—Ibid., Inscription No. 344—Merchants of various countries are said to have *granted one tāra of betel-leaves out of every naḍe for the service of God.*

A.D. 1147—Inscription No. 8 in the volume on *Kolhapur Inscriptions* (by K. G. Kundangar, 1939) refers to one Bammanayya the *Prime Minister, the head of the betel-leaf department*' (lines 33-34 of the Inscription on p. 82).

A. D. 1144 } *A. D. 1163* } Dr. B. A. Saletore refers to *areca-nuts* and *betel-leaves* in inscriptions (vide p. 151 of Vol. I of *Social and Political Life of Vijayanagar*).

A.D. 1166—Inscription No. 13 of *Kolhapur Inscriptions* refers to grant of land for the '*betel-leaves of God Cenna Kes'ava*' (lines 66-69 on p. 112).

A. D. 1176—Inscription No. 14 (Kolhapur Inscriptions) refers to taxes on imported articles like *pepper, sugar, jaggery* and *betel-nuts.* It further refers to an assembly of oilmen *granting one spoon of oil on each extraction from each shop every year for the betel-leaf of God* (line 52, p. 120).

A.D. 1193—Inscription No. 2033 of Malaya Siṁha of Tripuri refers to 'Harisiṁha, son of Jagatsiṁha, who was *betel-nut distributor* (vide p. 282 of D. R. Bhandarkar's List of *Northern Inscriptions* and *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol XIX, pp. 296 ff).

A. D. 1235—Inscription No. 18 (*Kolhapur Inscriptions* by K. G. Kundangar, 1939) of the Yādava king Singhaṇadeva refers to the grant '*for the betel-leaves of God Bhāvas'uddhadeva*' (line 64, p. 153).

A. D 1186—Inscription No. 15 (*Kolhapur Inscriptions*) refers to betel-leaves sellers[9] making a grant of *100 betel-leaves* on one load *for the maintenance of the betel-leaves of God Habbes'vara* (lines 88-90, p. 137).

which produced the best kinds of *betel-leaves* and *betel-nuts* have been mentioned in this chapter, which is perhaps the earliest medieval special account of *Tāmbūla* as used at the royal court.

9. With the acquisition of the betel-chewing habit by the Aryans in India there arose a class of traders in *Tāmbūla* called *tāmbūlika* class, which later became a caste with the name *Taṃbolī*. At present the *Teli* (oilman) and *Tāṃboli* (seller of *Tāmbūla*) are regular castes in the Indian caste-system, The history of the *Tāṃbolī* caste is worthy of a careful study.

At present the use of *betel-nut* and *cocoanut* on all auspicious and religious functions is very common in India among the Hindus. It is worth-while undertaking an investigation into the origin and history of this use. For this purpose it is desirable to record the different words for the *betel-nut* and the *cocoanut* recorded in literary and inscriptional sources. The lexicon *Amarakos'a* (between c. A. D. 500 and 800) records the synonyms for the *betel-nut* and the *cocoanut* as follows :—

Kāṇḍa II (वनौषधिवर्ग) — p. 212 of N. S Press Edition, Bombay, 1905.

Cocoannt—'नालिकेरस्तु लाङ्गली ॥ १६८ ॥'

Bhānuji Dīkṣita (c. A. D. 1630) says that नालिकेर and लाङ्गली are two synonyms for नारिकेल or *cocoanut*.

Betel-nut—'घोण्टा तु पूगः क्रमुको गुवाकः[10] खपुरः ॥ १६९ ॥'

Bhanūji Dikṣita says that these are five synonyms for पूगवृक्ष commonly known as 'सोपारी' '(पञ्च पूगवृक्षस्य' 'सोपारी इति ख्यातस्य)'

The Bengal Inscriptions edited by Mujumdar refer frequently to नारिकेल (cocoanut) and गुवाक (betel-nut) plantation on the lands donated[11] to certain persons by the kings of Bengal as will be seen from the following references :—

(1) *Copper-plate of Vis'varūpa* (vide p. 178 of *Bengal Inscriptions* by Mujumdar, Vol. III, 1929 ; see also *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 1, March 1926, pp. 77-86).

Line 45—Mention is made of 'वरज' in the sense of *Betel-leaf plantation* in which sense this word is used in Bengal.

Line 50—'गुवाकशत'=100 *betel-nut* trees.

Line 53—'गुवाकमूल्यसमेत'=together with price of *betel-nuts*.

Line 54—'गुवाकवास्तुभू'=land in which grow *betel-nut* trees.

10. Wilson H. H., in his *Sanskrit Eng. Dictionary*, p. 306, explains the word '*guvāka*' as follows :—

'गुवाक m(-कः). The betel-nut-tree (Areca faufel or Catechu)

E. गु to stool. affix आक and उ converted to अव irregularly'.

It is worth-while tracing the history of the word 'गुवाक' in sources earlier than *Amarakos'a* with a view to determining its exact etymology. It is for linguists to say if this word is really a Sanskrit word.

11. Paul, P. L., in his *Early History of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1939, p. 131, describes the Administrative system and the regular taxes revealed by the grants of the Pāla kings. In this connection he observes :—

'It is interesting to note that in the land grants it is specially said that the donee is to have the privilege of the enjoyment of *madhuka*, *mango*, *jack-fruit*, *betel-nut*, and *cocoanut* trees. This goes to show that the king had some share from their income. This is further confirmed by the fact in the Sāhitya Pariṣad grant of *Vis'varūpasena* the income derived from the betel-leaf plantations is to be enjoyed by the donee'.

Line 60—'सगुवाकनारिकेला......भूमिः'=land in which are growing *betel-nut* trees and *cocoanut* trees.

Line 61—'गुवाकनारिकेलादिकं लगगावयित्वा'=causing plantation of *betel-nut* trees and *cocoanut* trees.

(2) *Sundarban Copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇasena* (*Bengal Inscriptions*, Vol. III (1929), p. 169, ed. by Mujumdar).

Page 171—'सगुवाकनारिकेल......भूभागः'

Page 425—*Plate of Kes'avasena*

Line 51—'सगुवाकनालिकेरा (भूमिः)'

Page 112—*Plate of Lakṣmaṇasena*—'सगुवाकनारिकेलः'

Page 102—(*Plate of Lakṣmaṇasena*)

Line 39—'सगुवाकनारिकेलः'

Pages 93 and 97—'डालिम्ब[12] क्षेमसीमा'

(3) *Copper-plate* (Dacca Dist.) of *Bhojavarman* (about A. D. 1100) (Bengal Inscriptions, Vol. III).

Page 24—'साम्रपनसा सगुवाकनालिकेरा'

(land 'with *mango, Jack fruit, betel-nut* and *cocoanut trees*').

Page 8—*Copper-plate* of *s'rī Candra*—'साम्रपनसा/सगुवाकनालिकेरा'

(4) *Ānuta Copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇasena*—*Inscription of Bengal*, Vol. III, Varendra Research Society, Rajashahi, Bengal, 1929)

Page 87—'खण्डक्षेत्रं......सगुवाक-नारिकेलं'

('a plot of land. ....with *betel-nut* and *cocoanut* trees'—p. 90).

We have recorded above a few references to betel-nut plantations in Bengal from the inscriptions of Bengal kings whose chronology[13] is as follows :—

1. Lakṣmaṇasena (27 years)–c. A. D. 1178-1205
2. Vis'varūpasena (14 years, son of Lakṣmaṇasena)
3. Bhojavarman[14] (about A. D. 1100)

12. *Dālimba* (Dāḍima), i.e the pomegranate tree was transplanted according to *Sino-Iranica* by Laufer, 1919, pp. 285-86, into India from *Iranian* regions in the *first centuries of the Christian Era*. This tree is not mentioned in Vedic, Pāli or early Sanskrit literature. The word *dālima, dāḍima* etc. is traceable to Iranian *dulim*, reconstructed on the basis of Chinese transcription.

13. Vide p. 101 of *Early History of Bengal* by P. L. Paul, 1939 (Calcutta).

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80. *Bhojavarman* was the last known Varman King. He was the son of *Sāmalavarman* by *Trailokyasundarī*. *Sāmalavarman* was the son of *Jaṭāvarman*, a contemporary of Vigrahapāla III (c. A. D. 1045-1072). The Varmans were most probably ousted out by Vijayasena (c. A. D. 1097-1159).

In the light of the above chronology we are warranted in concluding that the betel-nut plantations were a regular feature of agriculture and economics of Bengal between c. A. D. 1100 and 1300.

It is possible to find references to *Tāmbūla* in inscriptions of Northern and Southern India posterior to A. D. 1300. I hope some expert in the study of inscriptions would collect and record such references with a view to reconstructing the economic history of the *Areca-nut* and allied products in mediaeval India.

I conclude this short record of references to *Tāmbūla* in inscriptions from A. D. 473 onwards by adding the following late references to *Tāmbūla* to the present study :—

(1) Dr. B. A. Saletore in his *Social and Political Life of Vijayanagar* Vol. II, p. 180, mentions an inscription of *A. D. 1422* which describes the conquest of a Jain general. In this connection the inscription mentions the women of the conquered people as follows :—

'By their *bimba*-like lips, deprived of the redness (caused) by the betel'.

(2) In the *Journal of the Annamalai University* (March 1941, p. 318) an inscription of the time of the Nayaks of Tanjore from Pattiswaram (No. 257 of 1927) refers to a dispute regarding the procedure in the receipt of *betel-leaves* and *areca-nuts during marriages*'.

Two Early Hindu Śāhī Sculptures

By

H. GOETZ, *Baroda.*

We can boast of a fairly comprehensive knowledge of Indian art in Afghānistān from Greek times up to the 5th centuries A. D. Bāmiyān and recent excavations near Kābul have presented us with a picture of what had been produced under the later Turkī S'āhīs. But the art of the period of the Hindu S'āhīs still is practically a blank. And yet we know that they had been a mighty dynasty who ousted both the Kashmīris and Pratihāras from the Panjāb and offered a long and stubborn resistance to the advance of the Muslims[1]. We know also that art flourished under their rule. Number of Deva temples with costly idols and other art treasures are mentioned by the Arab historian Baladhūrī[2]. But only very few vestiges have been traced. Muslim vandalism can partly be held responsible for this dearth of monuments, poor building material may likewise be accepted as a reason, and finally lack of attention by modern scholars, attracted first by the 'Graeco-Buddhist', then by prehistoric vestiges[3]. Of ruins we are best acquainted with Hund (Ohind, Udabhāṇḍa, Utakhaṇḍa[4] and the two Kāfirkots[5]. Unfortunately, though they give us a good picture of fortifications and general building types, they reveal little of architectural ornamenatation. The ruins of the Salt Range cannot yet be classified[6]. The temple of Malot belongs to the early 8th century and has to be regarded as a work of Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa of Kashmīr[7]. Āmb, Kālar[8]

1. Ray, H. C. · *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Calcutta, 1931, I, 55 ff.; etc.

2. *Kitāb Futūh al-Buldān*, transl. by Hitti and Murgotten, pt. II.

3. Being in or near the centres of political power attacked by the Muslims, and symbols of their living ideals, the S'āhī monuments were, of course, more exposed to systematic destruction than the Gandhāra-Buddhist shrines, then already deserted and in ruins. Bāmiyān, however, the last Buddhist stronghold, was likewise badly damaged. The ordinary building-stone of the frontier is a very brittle chist which, in larger pieces, easily disintegrates. Of modern scholars only Sir Aurel Stein has paid systematic attention to S'āhī archaeology. Important material, however, has been collected also by Pt. M.S. Vats.

4. Vats, M. S. · Hund, the ancient Udabhāṇda, (*ARASI*, 1923-24, pp. 68 ff.)

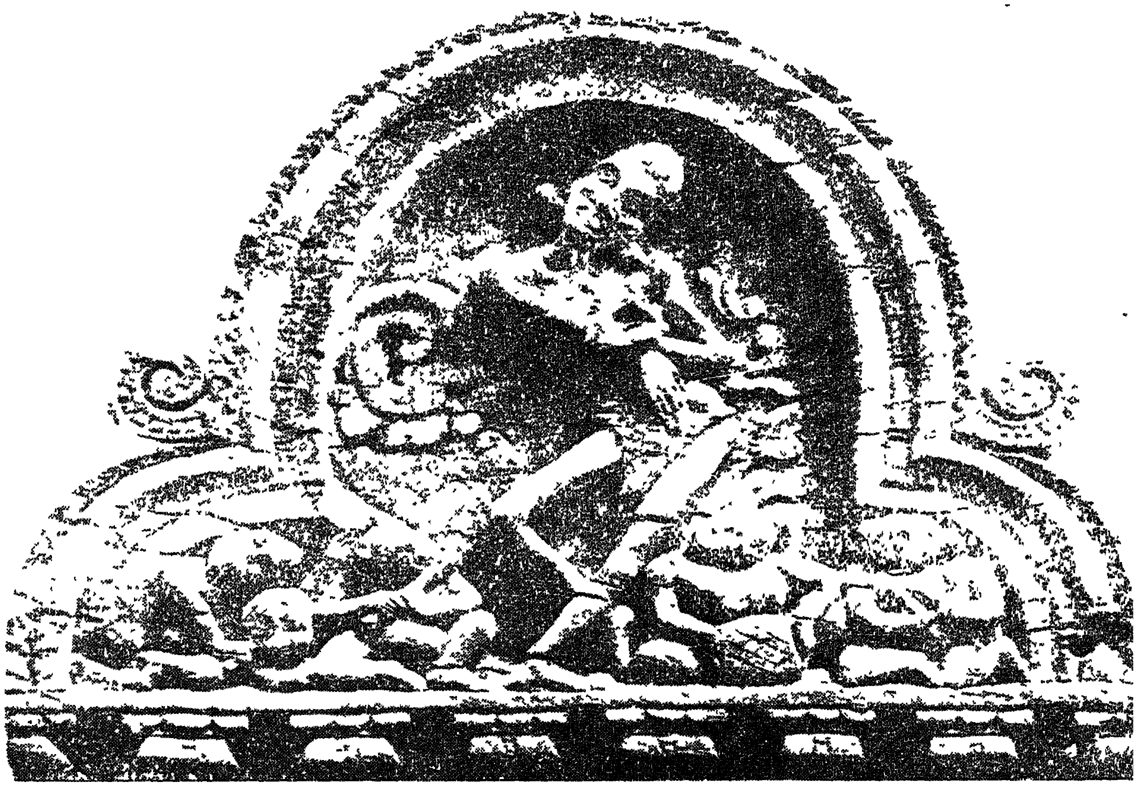
5. *ARASI*, 1914-15, pl; 1921-22, p. 10, pl. 26; Wheeler, R.E.M . *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan* London, 1950, pp. 55 ff.

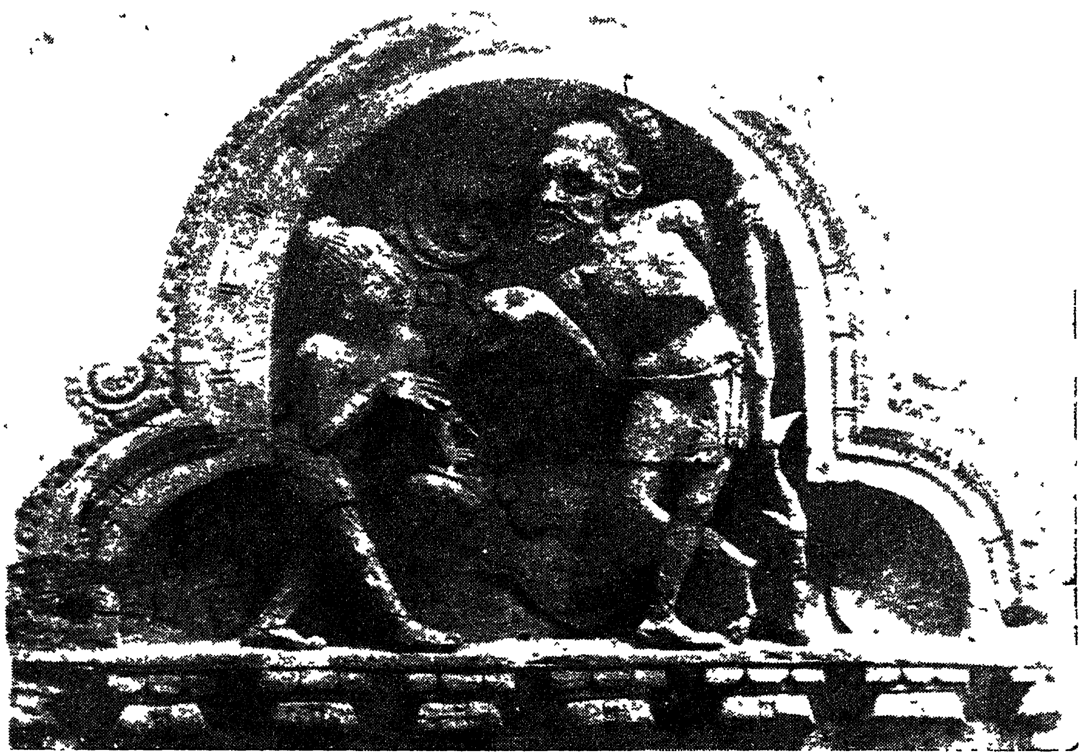
6. Vats, M. S. : The Salt Range, (*ARASI*, 1927-28, pp. 89 ff., pl. 35).

7. *ARASI*, 1920-21, p. 4, pl. 3; Wheeler, *op. cit.*, fig. 11; Goetz, H. : The Beginnings of Mediaeval Art in Kashmīr (*J. Bombay University*, Vol. 21, pt. 2, pp 63 ff., 1952.

8. Talbot, W. S. : An Ancient Hindu Temple in the Panjab, (*JRAS*. 1903, 335 ff.)

Two Early Hindu Śāhī Sculptures





and Pāttan-Munāra[9] are in the pure Pratihāra style of the middle 9th century and may thus be creations either of the Pratihāras, or of the Gūrjaras of the Takka kingdom, vassals of the Pratihāras. Only Bilot[10], with its mixture of Pratihāra and Kashmīrī forms, might perhaps fall within the orb of S'āhī art. Of sculpture nothing has so far been traced.

However, two excellent wooden reliefs were discovered long ago in a cave in the Yūsufzāi territory near the Khyber Pass, and published by Jas. Burgess as early as 1897[11]. But systematic research ignored them, probably because nobody felt sure how exactly to interpret them. Today we have sufficient evidence in order to attribute them to the Hindu S'āhī period.

A first glance already yields the following facts: Both reliefs, carved in deodār wood, are framed by a trifoliated arch, common especially in the art of Mediaeval Kashmīr. The scenes depicted appear to be S'aiva, though of a type unknown in Kashmīr, rare in Northern India, but common in the Deccan. And their style differs from whatever we know of Kashmīrī or Indian sculpture, though the emaciated bodies of the chief protagonists evoke a distant memory with certain Buddha statues of the 2nd century A. D. from Gandhāra[12].

But the S'aiva scenes forbid a linking-up of our reliefs with the Gāndhāra school of sculpture. It is true that the exact identification of the two scenes offers some difficulty as the artist has treated them in a rather unorthodox manner. One may represent the evening dance of S'iva in the Himālaya, accompanied by a chorus of gods. The other may refer to the Devadāruvana (Tārakavana) legend which tells how S'iva, in the disguise of a mendicant, seduced the wives of the *ṛṣis* and was thereupon cursed by those latter to lose his linga[13]. However this may be, no other identification than that of S'iva is possible for the principal figure of both reliefs.

The cult of S'iva was common in the Ganges plains and the Himālaya since olden times. Into the Panjāb and Afghānistān it spread first under the

9. Vats, M. S. · Pāttan Munāra, (*ARASI*, 1926-27, pp. 108 ff., pl. 34). Vats is 'disposed to assign it to the later Gupta period, ca. 7th-8th century', but it is characteristically Pratihāra. Masrūr (cp. Hargreaves, in *ARASI* 1915-16, pp. 39 ff.) has to be dated in second quarter of the 8th century and is in any case beyond the reach of the earlier S'āhīs.

10. *ARASI*, 1914-15, I, pl. 3. *ibid.*, p. 10, pl. 26; Wheeler, *op. cit.*, pl. 8a.

11. Burgess, Jas. : *The Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India*, London 1897, I, pls. 152, 153.

12. It is well possible that the artist had seen representations of the Buddha reduced almost to a skeleton because of his penance. But a common Hellenistic prototype can be assumed with the same probability.

13. Rao, Gopinath : *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Madras 1928.

Kushānas[14]. This early S'iva cult, mainly of the Kāpālika and Lakulis'a sects, seems to have been comparatively simple. Generally we find only two iconographic types: either S'iva standing, the trident in his hand, by the side of his bull[15], or a Mukha-Linga[16]. Since the Gupta period the variety of types increased. But a full-fledged iconography was developed only by the S'aiva revival of the 7th century in Southern India, and it was brought to the North mainly by the Rāshṭrakūṭas. In Northern India the imagery of the 'Dancing S'iva' is closely connected with Rāshṭrakūṭa influence[17]; and as both of our reliefs[18] belong to this South-Indian-Rāshṭrakūṭa iconography, they must have been executed at a time when Rāshṭrakūṭa influence reached North-Western India, i. e. about A. D. 900.

It is a common principle of diplomacy advocated also by the ancient Indian treatises of politics–to paralyze an enemy by concluding an alliance with a third power in his back. When the all-Indian empire of Lalitāditya had broken up[19], the Pratihāras, especially Nāgabhaṭṭa II and Ādivarāha Bhoja, attacked the Kashmīrīs, and after the death of Jayāpīḍa seem to have controlled the Panjāb.[20] Thus the temples of Kālar[21] and Pāttan-Munāra[22] may with the greatest probability be attributed to this period of Pratihāra domination. But when the Rāshṭrakūṭas advanced on Kanauj, it was natural that they tried to find allies beyond the Panjāb. Thus S'aṃkaravarman of Kashmīr tried to recover the Panjāb from Bhoja II Pratihāra, as ally of Kṛishṇa II Rāshṭrakūṭa[23].

14. Banerjea, Jitendranath · *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta 1941.

15. Especially on the Kushāna coins.

16. Mukha-Lingas are common under the S'ātavāhanas and the Guptas; after the 7th century they become rare.

17. There exists only one image of an earlier date, from Ujjain (*AR Gwalior Arch. Dpt*, 1926-27, pl. 3a) which may be very late Gupta. But influences from the South we can accept for Ujjain at least since the beginning of the 8th century, and the Gupta style disappeared only after half of the century had passed.

18. Strange to say, the closest parallel to our Dancing S'iva relief is the tympanon of Temple C. 1 at Mi-son (5th century A. D.) in ancient Champā (Annam); see Parmentier, H. · Les Monuments du Cirque de Mi-son, (*Bull. Ecole Francaise d'Extrême-Orient* IV, pp. 805 ff., fig. 31, Hanoi 1904). Though grouping, postures and the extreme slimness of the figures are the same, the Mi-son relief has much more figures, and its style is, of course, quite different.

19. Goetz, H. · *The Conquest of Western India by Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa* (*JBBRAS*, Vol. 27, pt 1, pp. 43 ff., 1951-2).

20. *Epigraphia Indica*, XVIII, pp. 99 ff., 1925-26. Pratihāra monuments of the 9th century can be traced all over the Thar desert, the Panjāb, and the Panjāb Himālaya east of the Chenāb.

21. See fn. 8.

22. See fn 9.

23. Kalhaṇa . *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, transl. Stein, M.A., V, 136 ff., Veṅkaṭaramayya, N., The Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II and the Gūrjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj, (*Proc. 6th Ind. Hist. Congress*, Aligarh 1943, pp. 183 ff.).

At least the brass frame of a Buddha-Avatāra image in the Srīnagar Museum which can be attributed to S'aṃkaravarman's reign, reveals strong influences from the art of Ellorā[24], and thus points to direct relations and an understanding between Kashmīr and the Rāshṭrakūṭa Empire. Now the actual bone of contention was the Takka kingdom of Alakhāna (IL-Khān?), a Gūrjara vassal state of the Pratihāras. And Alakhāna was supported by Lalliya, the founder of the Hindu S'āhī dynasty[25]. We do not know whether Lalliya had been another ally of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, merely competing with S'aṃkaravarman, or whether he was an ally of the Pratihāras. What matters is that in this time we can expect Deccanī-S'aiva influence to have reached Afghānistān. Thus our two reliefs cannot be earlier than the reign of Lalliya.

On the other hand they can neither be much later. For the arches framing the scenes are typically Kashmīrī. Lalliya (Kallar) had pushed the Turkī S'āhīs from the throne of Kābul. However, these Turkī S'ahīs had since long been vassals of Kashmīr. It was in the reign of Chandrāpīḍa Kārkoṭa that the Muslim advance into Afghānistān was stopped, and in all probability the name of the Afghān rājā in the Muslim chronicles, 'Ratbīl',[26] is nothing but a distortion of Chandrāpīḍa (>Drāpīr>Ratbīl). Lalitāditya reduced the S'āhīs to the position of mere officials[27]. After his death they may have been reinstated, though under Kashmīrī control. To this period we may attribute sculpture fragments in the Kashmīrī style between Jayāpīḍa's and Avantivarman's reigns found at Taxila[28] and Peshāwar[29]. When the Pratihāras expelled the Kashmīrīs from the plains, Afghānistān was isolated from Kashmīr, and probably on this occasion the local Kashmīrī Brahman governor made himself independent and removed also the last nominal Turkī S'āhī in order not to leave any possible nucleus of opposition, and to be able himself to pose as the national representative. For this same reason Lalliya had an interest to see to it that the Kashmīr empire would not be revived by S'aṃkaravarman, and thus to support Alakhāna, but likewise to woo the Rāshṭrakūṭas

24. Goetz, H. · A Masterpiece of Mediaeval Kashmiri Metal Art : King S'aṃkaravarman's Frame for an Image of Buddha Avatāra in the Srīnagar Museum, (*J. Asiatic Soc. Calcutta* in the press).

25. Ray, H. C. : *op. cit.*, pp. I, 72 ff.; *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V, 149 ff., 232 ff.

26. The name is unexplained, and some believe it to be Turkish. However, the derivation from Chandrāpīḍa is obvious on the parallel of Muktāpīḍa>Mutapir. That the Arabs used the distorted name of their most prominent opponent for all rulers of Kashmīr, also follows a common pattern.

27. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV, 142 f.

28. *ARASI*, 1935-36, pl. 11a · Vishṇu from the area of the Dharmarājika Stūpa.

29. Burgess, Jas. . Gandhāra Sculpture, (*J. Ind. Art and Ind.* VIII, 1900, pl, 22, fig. 5) ; three-faced Vishṇu head.

in order to keep also the Pratihāras at bay.

Perhaps this permits us also to explain the curious style of the sculptures which is neither Kashmīrī nor Pratihāra nor Rāshṭrakūṭa. Political changes of ten are reflected in art by a redirection of artistic allegiances[30]. In defying both Kashmīr and Kanauj, Lalliya had to break also with the artistic ideals developed by them. Whether he could toy with a Rāshṭrakūṭa fashion, depended on the question whether he could summon Rāshṭrakūṭa artists. But as the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire then was approaching its zenith and thus needed all its available artists for the glorification of the dynasty and of its ideals[31], this seems not very probable. If so, however, Lalliya had to fall back on other artists; and in our case the sculptor seems to have been a Byzantine or Nestorian Christian. For if we set aside the superficial Indian make-up of our reliefs, the S'iva figure proves to be a transformed ascetic saint of the Eastern Christian church (the elongated oval scull, the big, rhombic eye holes, the deeply incised lines around the nose and mouth, the outline of hair along the ears)[32], whereas the heads of the brahmacharī or the heavenly musicians strongly remind of those of younger monks, government officials or even empresses in Byzantine mosaics and ivory diptychs[33]. The hair cut in fringes on the forehead, was a very common fashion in early Christian and Byzentine times; the hair hanging down in the centre of the forehead—as in the figure of the dancing S'iva — was in fashion in the Byzantine army[34]. The special postures both of S'iva and of the brahmacharī recur in the small figures of circus attendants at the bottom of consular ivories[35]. Now in the 8th and 9th centuries Byzantium had been torn by the Iconoclast schism, in consequence of which all carving of religious images was suppressed for more than a century. As always in such crises, many sculptors emigrated and found a refuge elsewhere. We can trace them all over Europe. But others may have emigrated also to

30. Strong art influences never are accidental. A great power always sets the model also in cultural matters; though its influence becomes strongest when it begins to decline. For then its cultural prestige is on its zenith, whereas its sinking influence fosters an atmosphere of indulgence and releases surplus experts.

31. A great part of the Rāshṭrakūta monuments has not yet been studied, e.g. at the capital Malkhed. The construction of the Kailās'a at Ellorā went on over several centuries.

32. Diehl, Charles *Manuel d'Art Byzantin*, Paris 1925, I fig. 100; S. Muratori, I Mosaici Ravennati della Chiesa di S. Vitale, Bergamo 1942, pls. 16, 17, 18, 31, 35, 36, etc.

33. Diehl, *op cit.*, figs. 98, 100, 102, 143, 144, 149; Muratori, pls. 6, 31, 34.

34. Diehl, *op. cit.*, fig. 98; Muratori, *op cit.*, pls. 10, 17, 31. 34; the haircut in fringes on the forehead, though somewhat different, had been common also in Eastern Turkistān, e.g. Stein, A. : *Ancient Khotan* II, pl. 45; Coq, Le : *Bilderatlas zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Mittelasiens*, Berlin 1925.

35. Diehl, *op. cit.*, figs. 143, 145, 151,

the East, to the Christians under Muslim rule, or still further, to the strong Nestorian-Christian colonies in Central Asia. In the wooden relief of the dancing S'iva the attendant musicians remind also of Chinese figures[36]. This would let it appear probable that the artist, though trained in the Byzantine tradition, had also some acquaintance with Chinese art, and thus may actually have originally worked for Central-Asian Christians, perhaps in the Uigur kingdom of Turfān, so strongly imbued with Chinese culture.

Such an explanation may look fantastic. Yet Afghānistān is a border country between various empires and civilizations. In the empire of the Kushānas and, later, of the Kidāra-Kushānas Indian, Roman and Persian traditions had met; and on the other hand the influence of Gandhāra art has been felt up to Italy[37]. In Muslim times the style of Ghaznī spread as far west as Spain[38]. In the intermediate period late Roman style motifs appear, abruptly, side by side with such from late Gupta Bengal, in the temple of Malot erected by Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa of Kashmīr[39]. Late Roman and Coptic style elements mix with various stages of Gupta art in the famous sun temple of Mārtāṇḍa constructed by orders of the same ruler[40]. In the 7th-8th centuries China controlled not only Tibet and the Tarim Basin, but even Northern Bihār and the Turkī S'āhīs of Afghānistān[41]. The sculptures of Bāmiyān are closely related to those of the Tarim Basin. In the second quarter of the 8th century we find a Tokharian, Chaṅkuṇa[42], a former Chinese official, as Prime minister of Kashmīr, and Buddhist sculptures imitating the T'ang style have been excavated at Pandrethān and Parihāsapura in Kashmīr[43]. Seen in the light of all these facts, the Sino-Byzantine style of our two reliefs, though adapted to a Kashmīrī frame and a Deccani-S'aiva iconographic concept, is not surprising at all. It is but one more variety of the caleidoscopic mixture of

36. The similarity is not with contemporary Chinese art, but with Han and Wei bronzes and terracottas, and thus represents a provincial archaism. The fluteplayer, especially, goes back to an old tradition originally coming from the Ancient Near East.

37. Hinks, R. · *Carolingian Art*, London 1935, p. 45.

38. King, G. G. . *Mudéjar*, *Bryn* Mawr 1927, pp. 34f., 203.

39. Gœtz, H. : The Beginnings of Mediæval Art in Kashmīr. (*J. University of Bombay*, Vol. 21, pt. 2, pp. 63ff., 1952).

40. Gœtz, H. : *The Sun Temple of Mārtāṇḍa and the Art of Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa*, (Art and Letters, 27, pt. 1, London 1953).

41. Stein, A. · *Ancient Khotan*, I, pp. 5, 58 ff.

42. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV, 211, 215 f., 246, 361; Stein's Introduction, I, pp. 143f.

43 Kak, R C. *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, 147ff , Sahni, D. R. : The Pre-Muhammedan Monuments of Kashmir, (*ARASI*, 1915-16, pp. 53, 59); Kak, R. C. · *Handbook of the Sri Pratap Museum, Srinagar*, Calcutta 1923, p. 29; cp. Leigh Ashton, and Gray, Basil : *Chinese Art*, London 1935, p. 107.

civilizations in a frontier area. The special mixture was the product of political circumstances and of the labour market. Whether it had been merely a freak of art history, or whether it had exercised a more profound influence on Hindu S'āhī art, we are unable to say as long as no other work of this art can be identified. In any case we may claim these two wooden reliefs to be representatives of Hindu S'āhī art under Lallıya, or latest, under his successor Sāmantadeva.

Reflections on the Ārṣa and Āsura forms of Marriage

By

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It is by now almost needless to recall what has repeatedly been said, to wit that the West has often failed to understand facts and phenomena forming part of the vast provinces of Indian antiquities and Indian culture in general. This was not only due to the distance from Europe to India and the scarce and slow communications between them for many centuries, but also mainly to the wide divergent cultural development which both parts of the world had gone through. When, one or two centuries ago, an intimate contact between India and the West was established, the European civilization had, in the course of time, disintegrated to such a point that religion, philosophy, art, science and social and political life had come to be almost independent provinces, that men of letters, artists, scientists could pursue their occupations without being in touch with the other spheres of thought without even troubling themselves about religion or a philosophy of life. Moreover, the one-sided rationalistic outlook of Western science, and in the 19th century the prevalence of evolutionary and analytical methods largely prevented western scholars from gaining an adequate insight into phenomena forming part of a more or less integrated civilization, into a religion, a philosophy, a literature, art and science in which rational and other elements were inextricably mixed up and which in their way formed a harmonious unity. It is only within the last century that cultural phenomena—and this term does not exclude those bearing upon the civilization of the West—have come to be studied by more comprehensive methods of observation and investigation which seem to enable us to gain a more adequate insight into the objects of our efforts.

Yet, it is a curious fact that the direct study of Indian culture has, as far as I can see, contributed but little to deepening the knowledge of the manifestations of human culture in the West. The study of the so-called primitive societies, of the religion, art, science and literature of those many peoples spread all over the earth which are primarily studied by anthropologists, modern currents in philosophical and scientific thought, a renewed interest in objects neglected by the previous generations, have had a greater share in bringing about this advance on the older views than a renewed examination of the history and the character of Hinduism. It may even be said that the branches of Indological science in the West have profited by the results of modern research in the domains of anthropology, history of religions and similar subjects of learning.

Considered as a whole Western science has taken too little interest in things Indian, leaving them to specialists who often misinterpreted them because their Western environment and education had not equipped them, for thorough understanding. Although many books dealing with anthropology, linguistics, the history of religions and so on begin by stating that they are concerned with the history of human society, with languages, arts, religions in general, the sixth part of mankind which lives—and perhaps always lived—in India does not as a rule proportionally arrest the attention of the authors. It is a great pity that in many scientific books such an important and interesting part of the world as India is, was not, or was only incidentally, drawn into the discussion. Many problems in the fields of linguistics and philology, history of art or history of religions could in an effective manner be elucidated and brought nearer to a solution if the Indian data were duly taken into consideration. Books dealing with social, religious and other phenomena could have greatly profited by making more room for the immense mass of material available in Indian records. Many people in the West are much interested in the ancient Egyptians who were, indeed a highly interesting people, but have gone for ever,—or in the petty communities of so-called primitive peoples who can, it is true, teach us many highly important facts with regard to the history of human society, but who have not contributed much to the progress of civilization and are now dying rapidly. It is much to be hoped that the few students of Sanskrit and Indology in the West will soon succeed in convincing their fellow scientists of the necessity to widen the circle of their interests and to go more deeply into the study of the various aspects of the rich and age-old Indian civilization, which is alive and has much advanced the cause of human development.

It is, therefore, no wonder that there have been, and still are, in Europe many persistent misunderstandings with regard to manifestations of Indian life. Nor is it surprising either that until this day the discussion of many problems and questions has got entangled by the mistakes and misinterpretations of our predecessors. Their very terminology often misled. By styling the *Mānava-dharmas'āstra* a law-book, the *Bhagavadgītā* a didactic poem, the *Upaniṣads* philosophical texts, they induced their readers to picture these works as European law-books, didactic poems and philosophical works and to estimate their character according to European standards. These misconceptions have left many traces until the present day.

One of the institutions which have occasioned many misapprehensions in the scientific world of the West concerns the way in which other peoples have contracted marriages. Certain preconceived evolutionistic ideas with regard to the 'history' of marriage for one thing, led Western scholars to

exaggerate the importance of the so-called marriage by capture[1]. There are, of course, examples of the *rākṣasa* marriage, the essence of which is the forcible carrying away of a girl, in India as well as in Europe or in other parts of the world. But it is highly questionable whether there were any tribes in which this form of getting a wife was ever the sole recognized formality and it is not possible to consider with Leist[2], Schrader[3] and Jolly[4] the so-called marriage by purchase, a continuation of the marriage by capture, on the strength of presumed reminiscences of the latter form in the ceremonial of the former. Nor has the character of the 'marriage by purchase' always been sufficiently understood either. It would appear to the present author that for a large part of the often unconvincing remarks and unsatisfactory comments made in connection with the ancient Indian forms of marriage, especially with the *ārṣa* and *āsura* forms in their mutual relations, a lack of insight into the essence of marriage ceremonial as conducted in olden times must be held responsible. When the statement made by Megasthenes[5] that brides were purchased from their parents for a yoke of oxen, was made an argument in the discussion of the vexed problem of the character of the so-called bride-price, the fact was not duly taken into consideration that the Greek author was, it is true, not only a much interested observer who, no doubt, described the actual conditions as witnessed by him, amplifying his data by the more or less theoretical and haphazard information gathered from Indians, but at the same time lacked the deeper insight into the connections between the facts and into the conditions underlying them. He was a keen, hard-headed and rationalistic Greek who did not always interpret the facts correctly and was far from being congenial to Indian customs, institutions and mentality[6]. It did not occur to him that anything presenting itself as a purchase could be, or could also be, of a non-economic order. Many Western scholars have followed him in considering any so-called marriage by purchase as a purely commercial acquisition of a wife by the payment of money or its equivalent, and also those scholars who preferred to speak of 'a sort of sale' tended to the opinion that certain customs to which we shall have to revert, point back to an earlier period when the

1. See Winternitz, M. · Das aktiedische Hochzeitsrituell nach dem Āpastmbīya-gṛhya-sūtra..., *Denschr. Akad, d. Wiss.*, Wien, 40, (1892), Index (p. 112), s.v.

2. Leist, B. W. · *Altarisches Ius gentium*, Jena 1889, pp. 126 and 130.

3. Schrader, O. *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, Jena 1906, p. 321; Schrader, O.—Nehring, A. : *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, Berlin-Leipzic 1929, p. 216.

4. Jolly, J. · Recht und Sitte (*Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumkunde*, Strassburg 1896, II, 8, p. 50.

5. Megasthenes *Indica*, quoted by Strabo, Geography, 15, 1, § 54, p. 709.

6. See Timmer, B. C. J. · *Megasthenes en de Indische maatschappij* (M. and Indian Society, with a summary in German), Thesis Amsterdam 1930, pp. 299 ff.

sale of daughters was actually allowed[7] or that the *ārṣa-vivāha* had become only a sham (Scheinkauf[8]) already in the society depicted by the *Gṛhya-sūtras*.

We should, however, put the previous questions as to the character of, first, purchase, sale and commerce in general, and, secondly, marriage formalities in the society under discussion.

Trade in the sense modern men attach to the word, i.e. the business of buying and selling commodities with a view to profit, is primarily and largely an economic mechanism, although it may have a secondary social function. In other societies, where the manner of conducting it can differ considerably from one group to another, profit is often a less important factor ; there are, moreover, all over the world various forms of exchange which cannot properly be called trade. Among peoples to whom property means something different from what it means to a modern Western business-man (as long as he does not want to be ostentatious), its value mainly lying in its social and ceremonial aspects, the exchange of goods is, if not obligatory, demanded by prestige, or a means of maintaining the ceremonial observances of the community, contracting a friendship or entering into various other relationships. Although the economic aspect is not wanting and can even be important, these relations and the social side are considered to be of much greater value than the material profits[9]. It may probably be regarded as a corollary of this view when Indian authors on *dharma* (cf. *Mānava Gṛ.-Sū.* 1, 7, 7) prescribe that one should give up wealth as a motive for marrying a definite girl rather than relationship.

One of the forms of this exchange, and a very important one, is the so-called marriage gift or bride-price. This institution which as a rule carries in its wake a whole complex of consequences in the structure of the society concerned, does not necessarily involve the concept of woman as merchandise, although the return for the payment must be re-defined for each community the very occurrence of 'counter-payments' already shows the non-commercial character of the bride-price[10]. From the purely economic point of view these bride gifts (the character of which as a rule is traditional) are, indeed, often meaningless, since they usually entail certain claims upon the family of the bride, so that, after all, neither party derives real material

7. Hopkins, E. W. · The *Cambridge History of India*, I, 1922, p. 234

8. Jolly, *op., cit.*, p. 52.

9. The reader may be referred to Boas, F. . *General Anthropology*, Boston 1938, pp. 364f. ; 387 ff. ; 397 ff. ; Goldenweiser, A. *Anthropology*, New York 1946, pp. 152 ff. ; Kaj Birket-Smith : *Geschichte der Kultur*, Zürich 1946, pp. 182 ff.

10. A short survey is given by Boas, *op., cit.*, pp. 383 ff.

profit[11]. Yet it would be rash to call the institution useless. Apart from its being a means of acquiring prestige and generating mutual responsibilities and goodwill, it serves to legalize the alliance[12] and has, as such, a sacred character. Far from being conceived as a payment for the girl, the gift affirms, or helps to affirm, that she is not a concubine or a slave.

To the gift, indeed, a mystic power is attached which establishes community; giver and receiver participate in the gift and, therefore, in each other. The man who gives places himself in relation to the man who receives; the man who receives unites himself to the man who gives; the accepted gift often binds. The act of giving consists in 'conveying something of oneself to a strange being, so that a firm bond may be forged'[13]. 'The only gift,' Emerson says[14], 'is a portion of thyself. Therefore, the poet brings his poem; the shepherd his lamb: the farmer, corn', and we would add, the ancient Indian, his cow. The gift is powerful, it has binding force, and the man who receives, or buys, acquires something of the giver's, or seller's being together with the object transferred. It would, therefore, be dangerous if he did not return the gift, if he did not enter into a relation of exchange[15]. These are the reasons why most peoples make a strong protest against regarding the gift of a 'bride-price' as a profane commercial transaction. Although the Toradjas (Celebes) speak of a bride-price, they never concede that they buy their wives[16].

The Indians have always been aware of the sacred character of the gift. In connection with the *dakṣiṇā* they rightly object to such translations as 'fee' or 'remuneration' being used by Western authors. The *dakṣiṇā* is of a sacred character. 'Let there be no bargaining as to *dakṣiṇā* for by doing so the priests are deprived of their place in heaven' (*ŚB.* IX, 5, 2, 16); 'it is the

11. See e. g. Hogbin, H.J. · Polynesian ceremonial gift exchanges, *Oceania*, III (1932-33), pp. 13 ff.

12. See e. g. the detailed and instructive description of marriage exchanges in an African community given by Hulstaert, G. · *Le marriage des Nkundó*, Brusels 1938, pp. 105ff.; Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. and Forde, D. (editors) : *African system of kinship and marriage*, Oxford 1950, *passim*; Held, J. · *De Papoeas van Waropen*, Leyden 1947, pp. 94 f. (in Dutch); Nooteboom, C. Oost-Soemba *The Hague* 1940, pp. 102 ff. (in Dutch),

13. Leeuw, G. van der ; *Religion in Essence and Manifastation*, London 1938, p 351

14. Cited by G. van der Leeuw, *loc. cit.*

15. The reader may be referred to Mauss, M. : *Essai sur le don, forme archaique de l'échange, in Année Sociologique NSI*. Paris 1925; Bertholet, A · Der Sinn des kultischen Opfers, *Berlin Academy* 1942 ; Fischer, H. Th. : *Der magische Charakter des Brautpreises, in Weltkreis*, III, 1932, pp. 65 ff. and the books mentioned by Van der Leeuw, *op , cit.*, p. 360.

16. See, e g., Kruyt, A.C. Koopen in Midden-Celebes, *Amsterdam Academy* 1923, p. 26 (in Dutch); Radcliffe-Brown, *op., cit* , pp. 46 ff. and *passim*; *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, herausgegeben von Ebert, M. V., Berlin 1926, p. 251.

glory (: *yas'as-*; *id.* XIV, 1, 1, 32), healing medicine (*id.* XII, 7, 1, 14)'; 'based on faith (: *s'raddhā* ; *Bṛh-Up.* III. 9, 21)'. Without it the sacrifice is not complete. The teacher and the pupil under instruction are, likewise, connected by ties of spiritual relationship which exclude the acceptance of a remuneration on the former's part. A teacher selling knowledge as an article of merchandise is condemned as being guilty of a sin[17]. 'The giver and the recipient alike must give and receive in a religious spirit, and as performing an obligation both sacred and pleasant'[18]. Hence it follows that the gift (*gurvartham*) offered to the teacher after the period of formal pupilage had been brought to a close (cf. *Ās'v.-Gṛ-Sū.* III, 9, 4; *Manu* II, 245) cannot, in modern parlance, be called a fee. As it would be out of place here to insist on this point, we shall wind up these considerations by stating that in our opinion this dislike of fees and remunerations under certain circumstances and the repugnance, in the texts on *dharma*, for the *s'aulka*-marriage and for calling the gift of a cow and a bull at the *ārṣa* wedding a *s'ulka* or a payment result from the same mode of thinking[19].

Some scholars have, like Hopkins[20], quoted Manu's verdicts in connection with *ārṣa* and *āsura* forms of marriage as an example of self-contradiction. Now there is, to my mind, no denying that the *dharmas'āstras* have repeatedly expressed themselves in a rather vague and general way: the later commentaries are, in places, far from agreeing with each other; nor are contradictions wanting either. But I am all the same convinced that many of these so-called contradictions will disappear as soon as the text is correctly interpreted: such investigations as those contained in the bulky Rechtsschriften by Meyer[21] have already thrown much light on various obscure passages. Manu's 'code', Hopkins argues, whilst repudiating the sale of a daughter in some passages (III, 51 ff., IX, 98) evidently retains it as an old custom in other parts (VIII, 366; IX, 97).

We may, however, ask ourselves whether we do justice to Manu's work if we wrench these passages out of their context. As the 3rd adhyāya minutely and systematically deals with the householder, marriage, the daily rites and the s'rāddhas, we may expect to find there the author's opinions on

17. See, *inter alia*, Jolly, *op. cit.*, 32 and 54; Mookerjee, R.K.: *Ancient Indian Education*, London 1947, pp. 202 f.

18. LajpatRai: *The Ārya Samāj*, London 1915.

19. The above conceptions also go hand-in-hand amongst other peoples. In the island of Bali, for instance, the bride is 'purchased', though the trousseau or dowry bestowed upon her is, as a rule, much larger than the 'price' paid for her; the Balinese are, on the other hand, reluctant to receive payment in cash for services rendered. See Korn V. E.: *Het adatrecht van Bali*, Leyden 1924, pp. 368 and 500 (in Dutch).

20. Hopkins, E. W.: The *Cambridge History of India*, I, 1922, p. 291.

21. Meyer, J. J.: *Über das Wasen der altindischen Rechtsschriften*, Leipsic 1927.

the point under discussion in their purest form. He there explicitly declares that no father who knows (the *dharma*, with regard to this point: *dhana-grahaṇa-doṣajñaḥ*, Kullūka) should take even the smallest price (*s'ulka-*) for his daughter; if he takes a price through greed he becomes the seller of his offspring (III, 51, cf. also the next stanzas). In VIII, 204 Manu is, however, discussing recovery of debts, deposits, sale, partnership, subtraction of gifts, non-payment of wages, non-performance of agreement and similar topics which, though, of course, admitting of being studied from the point of view of *dharma*, correspond, in a manner, to our modern commercial and labour law. 'If one girl has been shown to a prospective bridegroom and another is given, he may marry them both for the same price'. Buhler[22] is, in my opinion, not quite justified in calling this rule 'rather astonishing after what has been said in III, 51, ff.', though he is, no doubt, right in adding that 'it proves that wives were purchased in ancient India'. We must take into consideration that the author here discusses gifts, sales, performances, etc. from the point of view of honesty (compare the preceding and following stanzas). Stanza 204 must be explained in such a way that the first girl mentioned is 'irreproachable' (*niravadyā*, Kullūka), the other deformed. Manu does not deny the existence of the 'purchase of a bride', of the *s'ulka*-marriage; he only forbids the man who wishes to adhere to the correct *dharma* to enter into such an affair. In VIII, 204 he regards as merchandise or as a delivery what people, in his eyes, treat as such. Kullūka is quite right in his comment: because this topic has the same nature as the buying and selling of objects, the gift of the girl after taking the *s'ulka* having the character of a sale is dealt with in this connection. As to the stanzas IX, 97 f., they might perhaps be interpreted like this: 'If the giver of the price die after the price for the girl has been paid, she shall be given in marriage to his brother, if she is willing, <but strictly speaking and from the only correct standpoint, according to the dharma> even a s'ūdra should not accept a price in exchange for his daughter'. In the former stanza the author who is discussing the duties and mutual relations of husband and wife, takes into account a custom which apparently existed and tries to give it a more civilized character. But he makes haste to add the ideal, the correct point of view (see also Kullūka's commentary).

The last text quoted by Buhler, VIII, 366, forms part of a pericope on illicit intercourse etc. Here the question arises whether we may not interpret Manu's words 'a man who has intercourse with a girl of equal class shall pay the price, if her father consents (and marry her, Kullūka)' like this: 'this man shall not suffer corporal punishment (cf. 364 and 366), but rather than letting matters take their own course the *s'aulka* usage of low classes should be recommended, however incorrect it may be in itself'. We should not

22. Bühler, G. *The Laws of Manu translated*, SBE 25, Oxford 1886, p. 291.

forget that the correctness viewed by Manu in the first place is the concern of the higher classes, i.e. of the twice-born men.

Now it is interesting that in III, 53 Manu protests against calling the yoke of oxen presented at an *ārṣa* wedding[23] a *s'ulka*. 'Some call the cow and the bull (given) at an *ārṣa* wedding a 'price' (*s'ulkam*); that is wrong, since (the acceptance of) a gratuity, be it small or great, is a sale (of the daughter)'. The *Mahābhārata* (XIII, 45, 20) which expresses itself with the same words adds that 'notwithstanding the fact that some persons practice this, (i.e. the sale of their daughters) it cannot be conceived *dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ*'. Yet, the presentation of a *gomithunam* is, also according to Manu himself (III, 29), the characteristic of the *ārṣa* rite, and the only conclusion must be that at least in the opinion of this authority and of those who agreed with him there was an essential difference between this presentation and a *s'ulka*. The former was based upon, or at least compatible with, their conception of *dharma*; the latter was contrary to that, and, therefore, considered a commercial transaction[24]. In harmony with this view Jaimini (VI, 1, 10 ff.) declares that the gift of a hundred cows with a chariot is not for purchasing a bride, but only a matter of duty; it must be offered as a present[25].

What, then, was the essence of such a presentation conforming to the conceptions these authorities had formed of *dharma*? Kullūka puts it into these words (*Manu* III, 53, cf. 29) '(such a presentation takes place) as an act of *dharma* in order to attain complete success of the sacrificial ceremonial which is necessary for the success of the *ārṣa* wedding, or in order to give it to the girl'. In the first interpretation the similarity of character between this gift and the *dakṣiṇā* is remarkable: 'a sacrifice without a *dakṣiṇā* can never lead to salvation' (*MBh.* XII, 79, 11); by the *dakṣiṇā* the sacrifice becomes perfect-and-successful (*S'B.* II, 2, 2, 1f.)'[26].

There can, in my opinion, be no doubt that the presentation of cattle formed part of a complex of ancient customs or, rather, ritual in connection with the solemnization of a marriage. In the *Iliad*, 11, 244, it reads: first he had given a hundred head of cattle (to the father of his bride-to-be),' and the Greek word *alphesiboios* 'who yields her father many oxen as presents from

23. Cf. *Manu* III, 29 'a cow and a bull or two pairs'.

24. See also Kullūka (*Manu* IX, 53)
शास्त्रनियमितजातिसंख्याकं ग्रहणं न शुल्करूपम्...भोगलोभेन तु धनग्रहणं शुल्करूपम् अशास्त्रीयम् ।

25. See S'abara's comment 'What is called *kraya-* is a mere modality; it is no purchase-price, but, surely, a gift'.

26. See also my treatise '*Notes on Brahman*', Utrecht 1950, p. 25f. Other views are discussed by Kullūka (*Manu* III, 53).

her suitor' is a well-known epithet of an Homeric girl[27]. The Roman historian Tacitus in his *Germania*, 18, furnishes an account of a similar practice known to the ancient German communities, and a traditional bride-price was formerly also widely known among the peoples who inhabited the east of Europe, the Slavs and the Balts[28].

I do not, however, believe that Hopkins[29] is right in his opinion that 'it was an old provision that a fee or price (a yoke of oxen) should be paid to the father, and though this was softened down to a 'fee' or 'tax' (*s'ulka-*), yet the advanced code objects formally to this business transaction'[30]. The *s'ulka* was not a 'soft' form of purchase; in the eyes of those who clung to the traditional customs of the civilized classes it was just a commercial transaction. Their customary and ceremonial *krayāḥ* (cf. *Vās. Dh-Sū.* I, 36 : *tasmād duhitṛmate'dhirathaṁ s'ataṃ deyam itīha krayo vijñāyate*) were, in their opinion, of a non-commercial character: 'What is called *kraya-* is mere modality, there can be no doubt that it is a gift (and not a real purchase)' (S'abara, on *Jaimini Mīmāṁsāsūtra* VI, 1, 15).

We now come to a short discussion of these terms. The word *s'ulka* is, no doubt, of non-Aryan origin. It usually—and also in *Manu* and other *Dharmas'āstras*—refers to money levied at ferries, passes and roads, or other tolls, customs or taxes[31]. These taxes or customs were to be paid by those who travelled for commercial purposes or who when being on a journey, made use of a ferry etc.; a considerable part of them were, I think, foreigners in the locality where the tax was levied. Other revenues of the king are designated by other words, though the terminology is rather vague. Whether this meaning was original or not, *s'ulka* certainly was neither a price nor

27. See also Magnien, V. · *Le mariage chez les Grecs*, in Mélanges Cumont, 1936, pp. 305 ff.

28. For the sake of brevity I refer to Schroeder, L. von · *Die Hochzeitsgebräuche der Esten und einiger anderer finnisch-ugrischer Volkerschaften in Vergleichung mit denen der indogermanischen Volker*, Berlin 1888; Piprek, J. · *Slavische Brautwerbungsund Hochzeitsgebräuche* Thesis Munich 1913; Schrader, O · *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, Berlin Leipsic 1917-1923, I, pp. 161 ff., and 470 ff, and by the same author, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte* 3, Jena 1907, II, pp. 322 ff.

29. Hopkins : *The Cambrige History of India*, I, p. 291.

30. As early as 1885 Feer, L · Le mariage par achat dans I' Indearyenn, *Journal Asiatique* VIII, 5, pp 464 ff. pronounced the opinion that the *āsura* marriage represents the original marriage by purchase, the *ārṣa* ritus, on the other hand, that form in which it had, in the course of time, come to be admissible to those who set value on a regular wedding. I cannot agree with this view either. It goes without saying that Feer's verdict in connection with the exposition of the *dharma* texts · 'En célébrant Le mariage *ārṣa* et en dénigrant le mariage *āsura* on retient d' une main ce qu'on repousse de l 'autre', is, to my mind, not correct

31. For particulars see, e g., Meyer, J. J. · *Das Altindische Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben*, Leipsic 1926, pp. 217 f.; Jolly, J. : *Recht und sitte*, pp. 110 f.

a sale or purchase in the modern sense of the word, nor an exchange in the sense we discussed above. The special meaning 'wages of prostitution' which is easily explicable in itself has no bearing on regular and ceremonial relations between partners or members of the same community either. In the few passages where the sense of 'purchase-money' has been admitted (*RV.* VIII, 1, 5 'We do not sell thee, O Indra, even at a large *s'ulka*'; VII, 82, 6) the word may have had an emotional value or special connotation which we fail to discern, the stanzas being not very clear[32]. May we conclude from this that the *s'ulka* paid at an *āsura* wedding was considered by those who first used the word in this connection as a sort of tax?[33].

The word *kraya-* on the other hand denoted a purchase characterized by due observance of forms and custom. It even admits of a sacral use. Thus it is often found in connection with the buying of soma, the well-known introductory act of the soma sacrifice[34] (e.g. *S'B.* III, 3, 2, 10; IV, 6, 8, 6). The 'price' for which the soma is 'bought' is, again a cow, called the *somakrayaṇī* 'who serves as the 'price' of the soma plants'; there are, also, additional 'prices' of a traditional character (a goat, gold, a bull, an ox etc.). They are, however, called *vayāṃsi* (cf., e.g., *S'B.* III, 3, 3, 3) which may, perhaps, be rendered by 'oblations consisting of or representations of, vigour, power, force (meant to serve as a compensation)[35]. What happens is no real purchase of the soma in the commercial sense of the word; it is a ritual act, at the end of which the pretended 'price' is taken away from the pretended seller. It does not seem too rash to assume this sacral, non-commercial sense of the Indo-Eur. root *kurei-* to which the Skt. *kraya-* belongs, already for the pre-historic use of its derivatives, for among them are, in the Celtic branch of Indo-European as well as in the Balto-Slavonic languages, words for the bride-gift: Ancient Lithuanian *krieno* (gen.); Lettic *kriens* 'presentation given to the bride', which in ancient Europe was not a purely commercial transaction

32. Should we translate 'barter away' rather than 'sell'?—Many authors have taken 'Indra' as an image of the god; Miss S. Kramrisch, however, prefers 'Indra's banner' (in '*Art and Thought*', issued in honour of A. K. Coomaraswamy, London 1947, p. 200.- *MBh.* I, 190, 4 the word *s'ulka-* stands for 'an (additional) prize of a contest'.

33 It may be observed in passing that, whereas, on the one hand, making a bargain with the father of the girl is a characteristic of the *mānuṣya* and *āsura* wedding (cf. also *Vas.* Dh. Sū. I, 35 and Bühler's note, SBE. XIV, p. 7), it is, on the other hand, expressly declared (*Manu* III, 54) that there is no sale when the relatives do not appropriate the *sulka*.— In emphasizing that the gift, then, is a means of showing respect for the girl *Manu* is in perfect harmony with the principles recognized by other peoples (see, e.g., Boas, *op., cit.*, p. 383).

34. The reader might be referred to Caland, W. et V. Henry, : *L' agniṣṭoma*, Paris 1906, pp. 27 ff. and especially pp. 43 ff. ; Hillebrandt, A · *Ritualliteratur* (*Grundriss* III, 2), pp. 126f.

35. On the neuter nouns in *-as-* see my book '*Ancient-Indian ojas, Latin augos and the Indo-European nouns in -es-/-os*,' Utrecht 1952 pp. 46 ff.

either. The non-economic sense was, moreover, not foreign to other old Indo-Eur. terms within the same range of meaning[36].

Yet the idea expressed by the root √*krī* could evidently also be taken as bearing upon more or less purely commercial transactions : *Baudh-Dh-Sū.* (I, 11, 20 f.) quotes two verses in which it is declared that the woman who is purchased with objects of possession (*krītā dravyeṇa* ; we may, I think, supply 'other than the *gomithunam*' ; the word *dravya-* also implies 'money'[37]) cannot pass for a legally wedded wife ; she is not (to be associated with the householder) in rites for the gods and the deceased and Kas'yapa declared that she is a slave girl. It is, however, apparent from the next verse that his denunciation of such an alliance is directed against the sinners who give their daughters in marriage for a *s'ulka*.

In ancient India, which was a melting-pot of various peoples, the formalities in connection with marriages must have varied to a considerable extent among different communities (peoples, clans, families)[38]. Even to-day a variety of ceremonials, characterized by a vast number of minute observances has persisted[39]. What was, and is, customary in one community, could or can

36. See Benveniste, E. · Don et échange dans le vocabulaire indoeuropéen in *L' année sociologique, 3me série* (1948-49), Paris 1951, pp. 7 ff. This author does not discuss the root $k^{u}_{\wedge}rei$- As to the character of the bride-gift in ancient Europe see also Kummer, B. : *Handworterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, herausgegeben von H. Bachtold-Stäubli, I, Berlin-Leipsic 1927, pp. 1525f., who, *inter alia*, remarks : 'Der Brautpreis kann im Altgermanischen, wo jeder Gabentausch innerlich bindende Kraft hatte, nur die nötige Gegenleistung der Sippe des Bräutigams zur vollendung des mit der Verlobung bedingten Sippendundnisses gewesen sein'. Neckel, G. : *Altgermanische Kultur*, Leipsic 1925, p. 45 likewise states · 'Es kann also nich davon die Rede sein, dasz der germanische Vater seine Töchter an die Schwiegersöhne verhandelt habe, Mauss M. : Une forme ancienne de contrat chez les Thrace, in *Revue aes études gre cques*, XXXIV, Paris 1921, pp. 388 ff. ; Krauss, F. S. : *Sitte und Branch der Sudslaven*, Vienna 1885, pp. 272ff., who dwells on the fact that the so-called marriage by purchase is not a commercial transaction ; Sokolov, Y M. *Russian Folklore*, New York 1950, pp. 207 ff. ; Thurneysen, R. : *Studies in early Irish Law*, Dublin-London 1936, pp, 109 ff., esp. p 113 and p. 123 · an Irish girl, too, yielded her father many oxen but if her family did not give traditional presents in return, the wedding was second rate.

37. Cf. *Ās'v Gṛ-Sū*. I, 6, 6 धनेनोपतोष्योपयच्छेत स आसुरः, गोमिथुनं दत्त्वोपयच्छेत स आर्षः ।

38. Cf. *Ās'v Gṛ-Sū* I, 7, 1 अथ खलूच्चावचा जनपदधर्मा ग्रामधर्माश्च । तान् विवाहे प्रतीयात् ।

39. See e.g. Bose, S. Ch : *The Hindoos as they are*, London-Calcutta 188I, ch. V ; Elwin, V. : *The Bondo Highlander*, Oxford, 1950, p. 92 'The boy's father makes a formal presentation and adds one rupee as a token of payment of the bride-price' (this bride-price consists in cattle, grain or cash) ; Hutton, J H. · *The Sema Nagas*, London 1921, p. 238 ; Fuchs, S. : *The Children of Hari*, Vienna 1950, p. 134 'Generally the bargaining takes a long time. The usual amount of a bride price ranges from Rs. 30 to Rs. 40. The father of a boy or, if he, is not a good speaker, a relative asks : 'How many rupees do you want for the girl? Koppers, W. : *Die Bhil in Zentralindien*, Vienna 1948, p. 132, and many other books.

be foreign to another. What was customary among non- or half-Hinduized communities was, no doubt, often not approved of in a civilized state of society. Our sources record examples of special hereditary customs. In the *Mahābhārata* (I, 113, 9 ff.) S'alya, the king of Madra purposes to sell his sister because it is the custom in his family, which is the highest criterion of conduct, and which, right or wrong, cannot be neglected. This fact, he adds, is no doubt known to the suitor and to other people. He is upheld by Bhīṣma (the representative of the bridegroom-to-be) who even declares that the sale is justified by Svayaṃbhū himself and by those who know the correct conduct. Thereupon he gave S'alya coined and uncoined gold, precious stones, elephants, horses and carts, clothes, ornaments etc., who then married off his sister decked with ornaments. Kṛṣṇa's family on the other hand was not 'mercenary', or, as the Epic (I, 221, 3) has it, not 'greedy of wealth' (*arthalubdha-*) : 'who would approve of accepting a bride in gift as if she were an animal ?'

Although Hopkins[40] is no doubt right in saying that the very denunciation which is frequent—of the *s'aulka* marriage proves its prevalence, it would appear to me that from this information which we can derive from the texts, it should not be inferred that the forms of marriage and the various rites and ceremonies connected with the solemnization of this union were judged by the same standards among all clans, orders, peoples, castes and other components of the population. What was ancestral custom and perfectly regular in the eyes of one of these manifold groups, could be offensive to another. While many people had no objection to the *āsura* rite, the representatives of another standpoint felt dislike for a celebration involving the presentation of bride-gifts other than their own time-honoured cows or oxen. The authorities on *dharma*, of course, viewed these facts from their own particular standpoint. In expounding the *dharma* for human society in general, and in harmonizing and systematizing the manifold customs and traditions, they applied the standards of their own tradition. They considered less worthy the kind of marriage implying a gift which in their view was a fee or a purchase price[41]. But they did not always concur as to particulars, e.g. with regard to the question as to whether the *āsura* wedding, though not

40. Hopkins, E. W.: The social and military position of the ruling caste in ancient India as represented by the Sanskrit Epic, in the *Jonrnal of the American Oriental Society*, XIII (1889), p. 346.

41. It may be added for the sake of illustration that in modern Africa, where the cattle which is often to constitute the marriage gift, is by no means regardad as a puchase price, a legal form of marriage without cattle is also found. The status of those who marry in this way is, however, much lower than the status of those who married with cattle. As a rule the less honourable alternative to marriage with cattle was marriage by service. For particulars see Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, *op. cit.*, p. 121. For an exposition of the use of cows as so-called means of payment see also Laum, B. : *Heiliges Geld*, Tubingen 1924, ch. I.

regarded as commendable, but evidently not always conflicting with *dharma*, was allowed to every class of society[42].

Let us finally discuss some other texts in connection with this subject. The relevant passage in Āpastamba's *Dharmasūtra* (II, 13, 11f.) is of special interest because it gives evidence of a well-considered standpoint. 'There is no gift and the incidents of purchase with regards to one's children. In marriage the gift to be made to him who has a daughter in the words of the Veda 'therefore one should give a hundred (cows) besides a chariot to him who has a daughter and that (gift) should 'be made inverted' (i.e. returned, undone[43])' is due to a special desire (*kāmya-*) and done for the sake of *dharma* (i.e. not as a commercial transaction). The word 'purchase' (*krayas'abda*) used in this connection is merely figurative, since the personal connection (by marriage) arises from *dharma* (and not from the transfer of possession)'. Hopkins' comment[44] 'that the gift must be returned as a sale is not allowed—which only points back to an earlier period when the sale of daughters was allowed' may lead to misunderstandings. There are other such passages which make us believe that the particular *dharma* of some community or other required a transaction which would impress a modern mind as a sham: see Govinda's commentary on *Baudh-Dh-Sū.* I, 20, 4[45] : ...the bridegroom shall give to him who has power over the maiden a bull and a cow, and receive them back together with (the bride)'. An interesting custom is described in the *Mānava-Gṛ-Sū.* I, 8, 7 : 'The giver (this term must refer to the varaka[46]) scatters handfuls of gold with the words : 'You, for the sake of wealth', and the receiver (i.e. the bride's father) scatters them back to him with the words: 'You for the sake of sons'. Referring, for a discussion of this subject as dealt with in this sūtra, to the commentary by my sometime pupil Dr. Dresden,[47] I would, for the time being, uphold the view presented by Caland

42. See e.g. *Manu*, III, 22 ff. and Bühler's note; Hopkins · *Position of the Ruling Caste*, pp. 358 ff.

43. Other translations have been proposed, e.g. Kane, P. V. : *History of Dharmas'āstra*, p. 504 · 'should be made to belong to the (married) couple'. Cf. also Bühler, G. : in SBE. II, p. 132: 'he should make bootless (by returning it to the giver)'. As to the term *kāmya-* translated by 'due to a special desire' we may probably take it in the ritual sense (cf. e.g. *S'B.* I, 3, 5, 10 and *Manu* XII, 89). Kane interprets 'due to the desire (of the father to give a status to the daughter and her sons)'.

44. Hopkins : *The Cambridge History of India*, I. p. 234. Similar views are expressed by Caland, Dresden (see below) and other scholars.

45. See also SBE. XIV, p. 205.

46. See Caland, W. · *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 51, (1897) p. 132.

47. Dresden, M. J. : *Mānavagṛhyasūtra*, Thesis Utrecht 1941, pp. 28 and 30 f.

do the provisions given in these works apply to the eventuality mentioned in Jaimini's *Gṛhyasūtra* I, 22 and are the relevant passages to be interpreted like this : 'The ācārya receives a cow from a brahman, a village from a royal personage, a horse from a vaiśya. <In default of an ācārya> a hundrsd cows and a cart should be given to the 'owner of the daughter'; to the expert in sacrificing, a horse,'?[51] However, this may be, it would not be clear to me why the ācārya should be entitled to the large *dakṣiṇā* of a hundred cows if he happens to have one or more daughters or why any given father of daughters should be regarded as the donee.

51. The person who recieves (in *S'āñkh.*) the bridal garment is, anyhow, not the identical recipient.

Jainism in the Panjab[1]

(A neglected chapter in the history of the Panjab)

By

BANARSI DAS JAIN, *Patiala.*

Jainism originated in Eastern India from where it spread into other parts of the country. In the course of time it lost its eminence in the region of its birth, but gained prominence in the South and the West where it played an important role in the political, social and cultural fields.

There is no tradition as to how and when Jainism came into the Panjab just as there is one for its arrival in the South[2] or for the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon. When, however, the following facts are taken into consideration, it can be said without much hesitation that Jainism entered the Panjab soon after the nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra.

(1) It is enjoined upon Jaina monks to continue wandering from place to place and preach the doctrine to all without staying anywhere except during the four months of the rainy season.

(2) Jaina laymen journeyed far and wide by land and sea for trade purposes, thus coming into contact with other peoples. It is natural that some of the latter were attracted by Jaina doctrines and practices and were won over to the new faith.

(3) King Samprati, a grandson of Aśoka, sent missionaries to foreign countries to preach the doctrines there.

There cannot be any doubt about the existence of Jainism in the Panjab in the early centuries of the Christian era. It never became a popular religion here, but remained confined to big cities and towns. Though the number of its followers has been small, yet by virtues of their social and economic position they won esteem at the hands of the rulers. Literary and archaeological evidence shows that there were different centres of Jainism in the Panjab at different times but it does not preclude its existence at other places. The existence of seven such centres up to the time of Akbar is supported by

1. The term Panjab here means the united Panjab of the pre-partition days and the N.W.F. Province.

2. Soon after Mahāvīra, a severe famine visited Magadha which resulted in scarcity of alms and compelled monks to migrate to the sea-coast.

इतश्च तस्मिन् दुष्काले कराले कालरात्रिवत्।
निर्वाहार्थं साधुसङ्घस्तीरं नीरनिधेर्ययौ ॥

Hemacandra : *Paris'iṣṭaparvan*, Canto IX, v, 55.

literary and other evidence. They are : (1) Takṣaśilā (2) Harappa (3) Siṁhapura (4) Pārvatikā (5) Nagarkota-Kangra (6) Sindhudeśa (about Multan) and (7) Lahore.

1. *Takṣaśilā*

According to tradition preserved in literature the earliest centre of Jainism in the Panjab was at Takṣaśilā (Tāxiles of the Greek writers) the remains of which have been identified with extensive ruins excavated near Saraikala (now named Taxila) twenty miles north of Rawalpindi. This centre is mentioned in the biography of Ṛṣabha, the first Jina, who is generally regarded as a mythological person and is put million of years back. It is stated there that when renouncing the world Ṛṣabha divided his kingdom among his sons. Bharata, the eldest, got Ayodhyā and Bāhubali, the next Takṣaśilā.

Now Bharata, on account of seniority, was entitled to proclaim himself as a cakravartin, demanding homage from his younger brothers. All except Bāhubali readily yielded. The latter, however, would not do so. A battle ensued between the two, and at last the matter was referred to Ṛṣabha who advised Bāhubali to submit to Bharata's suzerainty. Dismayed at his defeat, Bāhubali renounced the world and became an ascetic undertaking severe penance[3]. A fifty-seven feet high statue representing him as such stands at S'ravaṇa Belgol in the Mysore state. It was fashioned from a single rock and was erected about a thousand years ago. When Bāhubali was yet a king, his ascetic father Ṛṣabha visited the kingdom of Bāhubali who, on hearing this news prepared a fit reception for the great saint, but the latter returned without reaching his son's capital. As a memorial to the occasion Bāhubali built a stūpa on the spot from which Ṛṣabha had returned. The antiquity of this tradition is borne out by the sculptural remains of the Siṁhapura stūpa, the third centre q.v.

That Takṣaśilā was a flourishing centre of Jainism till the time of its destruction is also warranted by literary references. One of them states that Takṣaśilā was studded with 500 magnificent Jaina temples. Once upon a time a great epidemic spread there which began to take a big toll of human life because all gods and goddesses had fled from the city owing to the sacrilege committed by the mlecchas. However, the epidemic abated through Mānadeva's efforts but in the third year of it the city was destroyed by the Turuṣkas[4] about the sixth century A. D.

3. Hemacandra · *Triṣaṣṭis'alākāpuruṣacaritra*, Parva I, Canto 3, vv. 335, 380 ; Canto 5.

4. Mānadeva Sūri prabandha vv. 192-95 in *Prabhāvakacarita*.

During the critical time the people concealed their idols in underground cells. The Jaina temple at Amritsar has got such a cell even to-day to store images if emergency arose.

Relying on this account Sir John Marshall came to believe that the temples F and G at Sir Kap, which he had previously regarded to be Buddhist, were most probably from among those very Jaina temples because their construction differed from those so far found at Taxila and resembled closely the ones represented on the *Āyāgapaṭṭas* excavated from the Kankālī Ṭīlā, the site of a Jaina stūpa at Mathura[5].

2. *Harappa*

At Harappa, a village in the Montogomery district of the Panjab (Pakistan) an extensive mound of great antiquity was excavated some thirty years ago and a large number of clay seals bearing figures of standing males were unearthed.

Prof. Rama Prasad Chanda compared these figures with Jaina statues. He found that the pose of the standing deities on the Indus seals especially of the one reproduced as fig. 13 in plate XII of Sir John Marshall's *Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilisation Vol. I* resembled very closely the pose of the standing Ṛṣabha in kāyotsarga from Mathura. He further remarked that among the Egyptian sculptures of the time of the early dynasties (III-VI) there were standing statuettes with arms, hanging on two sides (The *Cambridge History of Ancient India* Vol. I plates 80c and 82c).

'But though these early Egyptian statuettes, and the archaic Greek Kouroi show nearly the same pose, they lack the feeling of abandon that characterises the standing figures on the Indus seals and images of Jinas in kāyotsarga posture. The name Ṛṣabha means bull and bull is the emblem of Jina Ṛṣabha. The standing deity figured on Indus seals with a bull in the foreground may be the prototype of Ṛṣabha'[6].

The late Dr. K. N. Sitaram, Curator of the Lahore Museum, saw a further similarity between the figure of the Indus seal (No. 13, plate XII of Marshall's *op. cit.*,) and the standing image of Supārśva, the seventh Jina. The latter has the hoods of five cobras spread over the head. The Indus seal also shows cobra-hoods similarly spread over the head.

Whatever the truth is, it can reasonably be inferred that a cult of meditation similar to that practised by the Jainas formed part of the Indus Valley Civilisation thousand of years ago. Further discoveries from other

5. Sir John Marshall, : *Archæological Annual*, 1914-15.

6. 'Sind five thousand years ago' in the *Modern Review* for August 1933.

ancient sites might reveal more signs of resemblance between the Indus cult and Jaina religion.

3. *Siṁhapura*

The Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsiang, a follower of Buddhism came out to India for paying a visit to Buddhist teachers and sacred places. He travelled in this country from 629 A.D. to 655 A.D. and wrote a detailed itinerary of his journey. In his account of Kapiśa, the eastern part of Afghānistān, he says that besides Buddhist monks, there were 'naked ascetics', some of whom besmeared their bodies with ashes and wore strings of human skulls. Samuel Beal in his note on 'naked ascetics' identified them with the Nirgranthas or Jaina ascetics of the Digambara sect. This may be so. But those who besmeared their bodies with ashes and wore strings of human skulls were certainly not Nirgranthas. They were apparently Kāpālikas or belonged to some other similar faith[7].

From Kapiśa Hiuen Tsiang came to Siṁhapura where he found near Aśoka's stūpa, the place at which the first prophet of the white-clothed heretics attained enlightenment and delivered his maiden sermon. An inscription, also, was placed nearby to record this fact. There was a temple too. The religious rules of the people visiting it were very similar to those of the Buddhists. They either lived quite naked or put on white clothes. The image of their founder had an affinity with that of the Buddha. Evidently the above statement refers to the Digambara and S'vetāmbara Jainas and supports the tradition of Ṛṣabha's visit to the place over which Bāhubali erected a stūpa[8].

From the data furnished by Hiuen Tsiang Sir Alexander Cunningham calculated the site of Siṁhapura to be somewhere near the modern Katās (Kaṭākṣa), a place of Hindu pilgrimage in the Jehlam district. At the suggestion of Dr. G. Buhler, Dr. (later Sir) Aurel Stein, then the Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore, personally visited the place in 1889 and discovered the remains of the Siṁhapura Jaina temple buried near Murti, a village two miles from Kaṭās. He at once commenced excavation and collected a huge mass of idols and other remains of the temple. All these were brought to Lahore in twenty-six camel loads and were deposited in the Panjab Central Museum where some are exhibited in the sculpture gallery while the rest lie stored in the godown[9]. The size of the temple and Hiuen Tsiang's remarks about it clearly show that the Jainas must have occupied an important place in the population of Siṁhapura when the Chinese traveller visited it.

7. *Buddhist Records of the Western World* translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang by Samuel Beal, 2 vols. London, 1884. vol. I, p. 55.

8. *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 143-45.

9. *Gazetteer of Jhelum District*, Lahore, 1904, pp. 43-46.

Though like Buddhism, Jainism also was a missionary religion, yet it could not spread outside India. The probable reason is that the daily rules of life observed by Jaina monks and laymen were more rigid than those observed by the Buddhists. Hence the Jainas found it hard to mix freely with people of different habits. But some scholars who think that Jainism also might have spread outside India on account of the missionary spirit of its monks and the commercial intercourse of its laymen with foreign countries have taken, as Jaina, certain objects which have not the remotest semblance to Jainism. An interesting example of this is Von Le Coq's identifying as a Digambara Tīrthaṅkara a human figure painted on a wall in Chinese Turkestan. The painting depicts a headless naked male standing tiptoe with the right leg brought in front of the left. The funniest thing about this figure is that a heavy metallic ring pierces its genital organ[10].

Following Le Coq, Shri N. C. Mehta states in his *Studies in Indian Painting* that the old wall-paintings found in Chinese Turkestan depict many scenes from Jaina history. Again C. J. Shah reproduces N. C. Mehta's statement in his own book *Jainism in Northern India*, London, 1932, p.194.

The use of Prakrit in official documents called the *Kīlamudrās* discovered from Chinese Turkestan could, however, be adduced as a proof for the existence of Jainism in that region because Jainism and Prakrit have become, for some time, so inter-related that the mention of one recalls the other. But this was not the case when the *Kīlamudrās* had been written. At that time the use of Prakrit was not confined to Jainism only. Hence there is no convincing evidence to prove that Jainism ever existed in Chinese Turkestan. The introduction of Prakrit there has been explained by the hypothesis that some of the Aryans on their march to India branched off and settled in Chinese Turkestan together with their Aryan speech which in the course of time developed into Prakrit just as the Aryan speech in India did[11].

4. *Pārvatikā.* (6th century A. D.)

Pradyotana Sūri in the introduction to his *Kuvalayamālākathā* (finished in S'aka 700 = Vik. saṁ. 835) states that in the Uttarāpatha (Northern India) there was a town named Pavvaiyā (Pārvatikā) on the bank of the river Candrabhāgā (Chenab). The king of this place was Torarāya who is perhaps the same as Toramāṇa, the well-known Hūṇa prince. According to other accounts Toramāṇa's capital was Sākala which has been variously identified with Sialkote and Sānglā Hill. It is probable that Pārvatikā was another name of Sākala and

10 Coq, A. von Le: *Die Buddhistische Spætantike in Mittelasien*, III, *Die Wandmalereien*, Berlin, 1924, plate, IV and p. 30.

11. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1947 ed. Vol. 22, s.v. 'Turkistan', p. 620 d.

was situated close to the modern Pabbī hills, and hence the city was called Pārvatikā, or the city itself gave the name to the hills, for Pabbī is only the modern form of Pārvatikā.

Harigupta, a Jaina monk, was the guru of Torarāya and stayed with him. Harigupta himself seems to have belonged to a royal family because a coin or two are known to bear this name. From the reference that Harigupta was the guru of the reigning monarch of Pārvatikā, it is not unreasonable to conclude that Pārvatikā was an important centre of Jainism in the Hūṇa period[12].

5. *Nagarkoṭ-Kāngṛā* (c. 1000-1600 A. D.)

The next centre of Jainism is Nagarkot, another name of Kāngṛā, standing both for the fort and the town. It is 135 miles from Amritsar by rail. In ancient times it was the capital of Trigarta or the hilly country lying between the Sutlej and the Ravi. Till recently it presented a picture of old Hindu culture and polity.

That the valley of Kāngṛā was once a flourishing centre of Jainism is warranted neither by the present Jaina population of the region which counts about a hundred souls, nor by any tradition current among the Jainas

Sir Alexander Cunningham was the first to notice the remains of the old Jaina temples and images in the Kāngṛā fort and the town. He found there a number of Jaina inscriptions also. To account for the finds he remarked that the Dīwāns of the Muslim rulers of Delhi stationed at Kāngṛā were Digambar Jainas[13].

The oldest and the longest inscription is the one inscribed on the pedestal of an image of Ṛṣabha. It was edited by G. Bühler who found that its script was old S'āradā resembling that of the Baijnāth praśasti. The date mentioned in it is saṁ. 30 which may be the *laukika* saṁ 30, corresponding perhaps to 854 A. D. The word *gaccha* in it denotes that the image belonged to the S'vetambara sect[14]. This image and its inscription have been noted by Sir John Marshall also[15].

The late Dr. K. N. Sitaram made an extensive tour in the Kāngṛā valley in 1930. He discovered numerous Jaina images and ruins of Jaina temples and found that some of them had been appropriated by the Hindus under different names, *e.g.* the Gaṇapati temple lying between the Railway station and the Rest house at Baijnāth-Paprola was originally a Jaina temple. Dr. Sitaram left

12. Shah, C. J.: *Jainism in Northern India*, Bombay, 1932, pp. 209-15.

13. Cunningham, A. Sir : *Archæological Survey of India Reports* 1872-73, Vol. V, pp. 168 ff.

14. Bühler, G.: *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, Inscription No. 18.

15. *Archaeological Survey of India* : Annual Report, 1905-6, p. 16.

his reports unpublished but the present writer had the privilege of reading them in manuscript.

The credit of finding an authentic literary document which proves beyond doubt the importance of Kāngrā in Jain history goes to Muni Jina Vijaya, the well-known scholar of Jain history and literature. In 1916, he published the *Vijñapti-triveṇī* from the original copy prepared under the supervision of its author, Upādhyāya Jayasāgara, immediately after its composition in saṁ. 1484. The *Vijñapti-triveṇī* is a lengthy report of the author's pilgrimage to Nagarkoṭ in saṁ. 1484. Such reports are called *vijñapti-patras* and were written by monks to their gurus to inform them of the religious acts perfomed during the year[17].

The *Vijñapti-triveṇī* offers a vivid picture of the pilgrims' party starting from Faridpur on the south bank of the Vipāśā and reaching Nagarkoṭ on Jyeṣṭha śuklā 5, saṁ. 1484 after crossing the Bāṇagangā. The route and the places visited are carefully described. The outward journey was made by a different route from the return journey. A mention is also made of the battle that was going on at the time between the Khokhar chief, Yaśoratha, and the Muslim ruler Sikandar. The *Vijñapti-triveṇī* provides a useful information about the topography of the Panjab[18]. Some of the images seen by K. N. Sitaram in the Kāngrā valley probably belonged to the temples visited by the pilgrims' party in saṁ. 1484.

6. Sindhudeśa

A few centuries ago the territory above the confluence of the Panjab rivers with the Indus was known as Sindhudeśa. It included roughly the present districts of Multan, Muzaffargarh and Montgomery[19]. In olden times this region was an active centre of Jainism, connected more intimately with Gujarat and Marwar than with the Panjab proper.

One of its chief cities was Multan. In saṁ. 1169 Jinadatta Sūri of the Kharatara gaccha was staying there during the rainy season (caturmāsa). Here the Komala gaccha was predominent but Jinadatta paid more attention to his own followers of the Kharatara-gaccha. The followers of the Komala-gaccha took it as an insult and conspired with ruler of the place to put an end to the Kharataras. The ruler enquired how to distinguish a follower of the Kharatara-gaccha from that of the Komala. The reply was that the Komalas

16. *Vijñapti-triveṇi*, ed. Muni Jina Vijaya, Bhavanagar, 1916.

17. *A collection of Ancient Vijñapti-patras*, ed. Dr. Hiranand Shastri.

18. Jain, Mul Raj: *A Jain Pilgrimage to Nagarkot in Saṁ. 1484.* Proceedings and Transactions of *All India Oriental Conference*, Thirteenth Session, Nagpur, 1946, pp. 398-403.

19. विपाशया, चन्द्रभागया, ऐरावत्या, सिन्धुमहानद्या च सर्वतोऽधिभूमिप्राप्तप्रसरयोपेक्षितंजलदप्रवेशः सिन्धुनामा देश । *Vijñapti-triveṇi*, p. 16

applied saffron mark on their forehead whereas the Kharataras do not. Somehow the Kharataras got a scent of the conspiracy against them. Their leader, Hāthī, went to the ruler's wife and succeeded in getting the orders reversed, i.e. those with a mark on the head were to be executed. Thereupon the followers of the Komala-gaccha wiped off the mark and many of them came over to the Kharatara fold[20].

Jinadatta Sūri is said to have established the Pañcanadī Pūjā, i.e. the worship of the combined stream of the five rivers of the Panjab. Once upon a time the Jainas of Sindhudeśa sought the Sūri's advice as to how they could become wealthy. He suggested to them to fetch from Bhaṭner the idol of the Yakṣa Māṇibhadra who, when propitiated by worship, would grant their wish. Pretending as traders, some of the Jainas of Sindhudeśa went to Bhaṭner and stealing the idol fled from there. The people of Bhaṭner known as Bāharīs, i.e. outsiders or non-Sindhis gave a hot chase. Both the parties met at Ripri near Ucca on the Pañcanadī. The Sindhis jumped into the river and crossed it leaving the idol under water. The Bāharīs made a search but could not find it and returned in despair.

On hearing this Jinadatta invoked Māṇibhadra to come out of waters but he did not. Upon this a mutual agreement took place by which Jinadatta was to worship the Yakṣa under water every year whereas the Yakṣa undertook to make the Jainas of Sindhudeśa a wealthy people[21].

It is even more interesting to know how Jinadatta started worship of the Muslim *Pīrs* or saints. When Jinadatta met the *Pīrs* he received them very kindly and at times helped them with money and food. When the *Pīrs* were slain in a battle, their departed souls asked the Sūri for a place to live in. The Sūri pointed to the Pañcanadī and advised them to make their abode in its waters. Similarly the soul of a Rājpūt warrior was allotted the Pañcanadī. In this manner the Pañcanadī Fair became a regular festival for all the communities[22].

Besides Multan which remained a Jaina Centre upto the time of Partition, there were several other places, that once enjoyed Jaina prominence. Malikavāhanapura, Mammaṇa pura, Marukoṭṭa (Koṭṭa Maroṭṭa ?), Drohaḍoṭṭa, Farīdapura (Pak Pattan), Devapāla-pura (Dipalpur) have been mentioned in the *Vijñapti-triveṇi*. Besides these Bhera, Dera Ghāzi Khan, Kohat, Bannu and Mianwali had an influential population of the Jainas.

7. *Lahore*

Lahore is an ancient city having been the capital of the Panjab for several centuries. Its foundation is popularly ascribed to Lava, as that of

20. *Kharataragacchapaṭṭāvalīsaṁgraha*, ed. Muni Jina Vijaya, Calcutta.
21. *Ibid.* 22. *Ibid.*

Kasūr to Kuśa, sons of Sitā and Rāma, but there is no historical evidence for it. However, it may have been founded by king Loh of the Rajput chronicles where it is called Lohgaḍh. This conjecture is supported by the shrine of Loh in the Lahore fort and by the Lohgaṛh gate at Amritsar.

But Lahore (locally pronounced Lahaur or L'haur) is not the old name of the city. Amīr Khurau (d 1325) calls it Lāhānūr :

Az ḥadde Sāmāniya tā Lāhānūr,
Hec 'imārate nest magar dār e Qasūr. (Qirān us-sa'dain)

This name also occurs in MSS (Devanagari and Gurmukhi) ranging from saṁ. 1591-1811 (1534-1764 A.D.). The question which of the two names is earlier and when Lāhānūr went out of use needs investigation. However, the Jaina name, Lābhapura, which probably dates from the time of Akbar and is a Sanskritised form of Lahaur shows that Lahaur and Lāhānūr both were current simultaneously for a long time.

Lahore acquired prominence in Jaina history during Akbar's reign. The emperor, being tolerant and inquistive, established at Agra in 1573 an *'Ibādat khānī* or house of worship where representatives of various religions assembled and held discussions on religious topics; and the Jaina monk Hīravijaya Sūri, also, was invited to take part in them. Akbar was so highly impressed by the Sūri's exposition of the virtues of ahiṁsā (non-injury to living creatures) that he gladly issued royal edicts to prohibit the slaughter of animals on certain days of the year throughout his kingdom[23].

About 1582 Akbar stayed at Lahore continuously for a number of years. It was during this time that Lahore became a centre of Jaina activities. Karam Chand, a Jain Bania of Bikaner, who was a minister first of Kalyan Singh, and then of Rai Singh of Bikaner, having incurred the displeasure of the latter left his court and joined Akbar's as a *bhaṇḍārī* and settled at Lahore.

Once upon a time Karam Chand praised before Akbar the learning and saintly character of another Jaina monk named Jinacandra Sūri. Akbar wanted to see him, and the Sūri was invited to Lahore in 1592. Now Jinacandra was a rival of Hīravijaya. Consequently, the latter, also, sent his disciple, Vijaya Sena, to Lahore to keep a watch that Jinacandra might not injure his influence over Akbar.

Both these monks attended Akbar's court from time to time. The presence of *Bhandari* Karam Chand as Akbar's courtier and the influence of these monks at the court greatly enhanced the prestige of the Jainas in the eyes of non-Jainas.

23. Smith, V. A.: 'Jaina Teachers of Akbar' in *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume.*

Jaina literature and inscriptions give a detailed account of the relation between Akbar and the monks, and describe in glowing terms the influence which the monks' teachings had on Akbar. The Muslim historians like Badauni looked upon these meetings with suspicion. The subject is fully treated in Vidyā Vijaya's *Sūrīsvar aur Samrāṭ* and in M.L. Desai's introduction to his edition of the *Bhānucandracarita*.

The Jain temple in the Said Miṭhā Bazar and the Thaṛhiyān Bhābriān (lately re-named Jain street) were founded with Akbar's permission. Karam Chand built a shrine in his residential village near the present Guru Māngaṭ about 7 miles south of Lahore. The village came to be known as Bhabṛa after the common word for Jainas of the Panjab.

It is related that Akbar took some of the monks with him to Kashmir. One of them was allowed to learn Persian along with Salīm. Another monk composed a stotra, the *Sūryasahasranāma*, containing a thousand names of the sun which was recited before Akbar on every Sunday. On the birth of a daughter to Salīm under unlucky stars, Akbar ordered a Pūjā to be performed in the Jaina temple and Salīm graced the occasion with his presence.

Other Jainas having access to Akbar, were Thān Singh and Durjan S'āla[24].

Several grand functions connected with Jainism were held under royal patronage such as were never celebrated at Lahore afterwards. A number of appropriate titles were conferred on the monks. One was called *Khush Fahm* on account of his sharp memory and ready wit.

Lahore was not without literary activity. The *Sūryasahasranāma* was specially composed for Akbar. The *Aṣṭalakṣī* containing eight lakh interpretations of **राजानो ददते सौख्यम्** was presented to Akbar. Several other works also were written besides the copying of numerous MSS.

About this time a large number of Jaina families from Marwar came into the Panjab and settled in important cities and towns. Wherever there were a few families, Jaina priests or *Yatis* established their *upās'rayas* or ḍēras. These *Yatis* performed two-fold functions :— (1) They preached the doctrine to their adherents and (2) carried on practice in medicine and astrology. The latter brought them into contact with non-Jainas also from whom the *Yatis* commanded good respect. It is only within the last 50 years that the *Yatis* lost their hold on the people and have ceased to exist.

24. *Durjanas'āla Bāvanī* (Hindi), cmposed by Kṛṣṇadāsa, in Vik. saṁ. 1651 (Vais'ākha) at Lahore.

Geographical Study of the Pali Chronicles of Ceylon

By

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The chronicles of Ceylon written in Pali form a mine of information of varied nature. A careful study of the chronicles convinces us of the fact that they are really valuable as far as the Indian history is concerned, but they are more valuable with regard to the history of Ceylon. They may be treated as a depository of historical tradition in which we can find important confirmatory evidence of our information with regard to the early Indian and contemporary Ceylonese history. They contain a very faithful record of numerous religious establishments of Ceylon. They furnish us with reliable information concerning social and religious life of the monks and lay people as well as religious ceremonies. No less interesting is the account of the religious edifices found in them. They are undoubtedly an indispensable source book of history enjoying a triple importance through their bearing on the early political history of India and Ceylon and the early history of Buddhism. The elders (*theras*) were no doubt chroniclers of both the political and the ecclesiastical history of the island of Ceylon, though their primary interest was in Buddhism and Buddhist foundations. They seem to preserve faithful records concerning the internal political history and foreign political relations with South India, especially with the Damiḷas (Tamils). They are also important from the geographical standpoint as they supply us with many interesting geographical details regarding India and Ceylon, and there is hardly any reason to doubt their historicity. In my treatise entitled *On the Chronicles of Ceylon,* published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in their monograph series, Vol. III, 1947, I have discussed at length the chronological, literary and historical positions of the chronicles. An attempt has been made here to deal with their geographical aspect. In the following pages we have systematically arranged the relevant data from the major and some minor chronicles to present a geographical picture of India and Ceylon.

I. INDIA

Jambudīpa was the continent of India which had Pāṭaliputta as the chief city[1]. It was so called because it was full of Jambu trees[2]. Jambudīpa was an excellent land where all the Buddhas were born[3]. It was extended up

1. *Mahāvaṁsa.*, ch. XV,
2. *Mahāv. Comm.* p. 331.
3. *Mahābodhivaṁsa*, 12.

to the ocean in the south[4]. It was 10,000 yojanas in extent[5]. In it there arose twentyfour schools belonging to the Ācariyavāda[6]. Dhammāsoka was its virtuous and glorious monarch[7]. He not only built the great monastery called Asokārāma but also 84,000 monasteries decorated with 84,000 cetiyas in the 84,000 cities in the entire Jambudīpa[8]. Paṇḍu was the king of Jambudīpa who had a large army[9]. The Buddhist monks went from Jambudīpa to Sīhaladīpa[10]. The novice Sumana was sent to Jambudīpa from Sīhaladīpa for the Buddha's relics[11]. The entire kingdom of Jambudīpa was adorned with the sixteen great countries (*soḷasamahādesā*, variant *soḷasamahāpadesā*)[12].

(a) North :

Mahākassapa was on the high road from Pāvā to Kusinārā[13]. He saw the Tope of the Mallas called the Mukuṭabandhana[14]. The Mallas of Pāvā wanted to have the relics of the Buddha[15]. The people of Pāvā lived in the city less than three *gāvutas* from Kusinārā. Pāvā is identified with the village of Padaraona, 12 miles to the north-east of Kasia[16]. Ajātasattu had the road 25 *yojanas* in length and 8 *usabhas*[17] in breadth levelled between Kusinārā and Rājagaha[18]. The Buddha attained his Mahāparinibbāna in the Upavattana which was the Sāla-grove of the Mallas of Kusinārā[19]. The elder Ānanda accompanied by monks left Kusinārā taking with him the Buddha's bowl and robe[20]. Kusinārā[21], identified with Kasia on the smaller Gaṇḍak and in the east of the Gorakhpur district, was ruled by Tālissara and his heirs[22]. Bārāṇasī was the capital city ruled by the king named Brahmadatta[23]. The Buddha went there and turned the Wheel of Law[24]. Isipatana in Benares was visited by the Buddha to preach his Dhamma[25], as well as the Bodhi terrace for enlightenment[26]. Sonaka, a respectable merchant of Benares, received his first ordination at Giribbaja[27]. Kurudīpa or the country of the Kurus was also visited by the Buddha[28]. Takkasilā was governed by Dīpaṅkara

4. *Mahābodhiv.*, 73. 5. *Ibid.*, 73-74. 6. *Ibid.*, 97.
7. *Dīpavaṁsa*, I. 26; *Thūpavaṁsa* 48. 8. *Mahābodhiv.*, 102.
9. *Dāṭhāvaṁsa*, II. 91. 10. *Mahābodhiv.*, 117. 11. *Ibid.*, 140, 141.
12. *Ibid.*, 152. 13. *Thūpav.*, 25. 14. *Ibid.*, 25-26.
15. *Ibid.*, 29. 16. Law, B. C.: *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 14.
17. *Usabha*, a certain measure of length 140 cubits. 18. *Thūpav.*, 32.
19. *Dīpav.*, V. 1; VI 19; *Mahāv.*, III. 1-2; *Dāṭhāv.*, II. 31-33.
20. *Mahābodhiv.*, 87.
21. According to Geiger it has been identified with a Malla town in the territory of the present Nepal (*Mahāv.* Transl., p. 14. fn.). It seems to be inaccurate.
22. *Dīpav.*, 32. 23. *Mahābodhiv.*, 130. 24. *Mahāv.*, I. 14.
25. *Dīpav*, I. 32; *Thūpav*, 22. 26. *Dāṭhāv.*, V. 54.
27. *Dīpav.*, IV. 39. 28. *Ibid.*, I. 43.

and his sons and grandsons[29]. Kapilavastu was ruled by king Suddhodana[30]. Siddhārtha was born in this city[31]. The S'ākyas left this city after their fight with Vidūḍabha[32]. The S'ākya chiefs in Kapilavastu and the Koliyas in Rāmagāma wanted to have the Buddha's relics[33]. The shrine built by the Koliyas at Rāmagāma was destroyed by a flood[34]. Mahākassapa while enshrining the relics did not take them from Rāmagāma but brought and gave the remaining relics to Ajātasattu[35]. The city of Kapilapura was three yojanas in extent[36]. The Yona region was converted by the elder Mahārakkhita by preaching the *Kāḷakārāma Suttanta*[37]. The Yonas mentioned in As'oka's Rock Edict V and XIII were a clan of foreign race on the North-Western frontier.

The elder Majjhima was sent to the Himavantapadesa (Himālayan regions)[38], and preached the *Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta*[39].

On the seventh year of his enlightenment the Buddha sat cross-legged at the foot of the Gaṇḍamba tree standing at the entrance of the city of S'rāvastī where he displayed a miracle[40]. From the Jetavana monastery at S'rāvastī the elder Piyadassin came to Ceylon with 60,000 monks. From the Ghositārāma at Kosambī the elder Mahādhammarakkhita came to Ceylon with 30,000 monks. From the great monastery at Isipatana in Benares the elder Dhammasena came to Ceylon with 12,000 monks[41]. From the Gandhāra country the elder Attiṇṇa came to Ceylon with 2,80,000 monks[42]. From the city of Alasanda in the Yonaka country the elder Dhammarakkhita the Yona came to Ceylon with 30,000 monks[43]. Majjhantika was sent to Kasmīra-Gandhāra[44]. Here he preached the *Āsivisopama suttanta* to the inhabitants and converted one hundred thousand families[45]. From the Kelāsa monastery the elder Suriyagutta came to Ceylon with 96,000 monks[46]. One tooth-relic of the Buddha was honoured by the inhabitants of Gandhāra[47].

Kelāsa was a mountain with high peaks. It was of pure white colour[48]. At the foot of the mount Meru the king of serpents sat[49]. The mount Meru is the mount Sineru which is the highest mountain peak in Jambudīpa[50]. The Himavanta was full of forests, flowers, lakes, rivers,

29. *Dīpav.*, III. 31 30. *Ibid.*, III. 51. 31. *Mahābodhiv.*, 13.
32. *Ibid.*, 98. 33. *Thūpav.*, 29. 34. *Ibid.*, 87.
35. *Ibid.*, 87. 36 *Mahābodhiv.*, 7, 19. One yojana=about 7 miles.
37. *Dīpav.*, VIII. 9; *Mahāv.*, XII. 5; *Mahābodhiv.*, 114-115; *Thūpav.*, 72-73.
38 *Mahāv.*, XII. 6; *Thūpav.* 43. 39. *Mahābodhiv.*, 114-115
40. *Ibid*, 53; *Thūpav.*, 50. 41. *Thūpav.*, 72. 42. *Thūpav*, 72.
43. *Ibid*, 72-73. 44. *Mahāv*, XII. 3; *Mahābodhiv.*, 113.
45. *Mahābodhiv.*, 114. 46 *Thūpav.*, 73. 47. *Dāṭhāv.*, II. 56.
48. *Mahābodhiv.*, 13, 26, 45, 79.
49. *Dāṭhāv.*, IV. 34; *Thūpav.*, 89
50. Law, B. C. : *Geography of Early Buddhism*, XVI. 43.

animals, birds, peacocks, etc. It was resounded by the songs of birds. It was full of jewels. It was the abode of gods, demons, nāgas, kinnaras, etc.[51]. Cittakūṭa was a mountain in the north[52]. Mandākinī was a river full of beautiful swans[53]. It is a tributary of the Alakanandā. Some have identified it with the Kālīgaṅgā which rises in the Kedār mountain in Garhwal[54]. Cunningham has identified it with the Ṛksa river. It forms a small tributary to the Paisundi (Paisuni or Payasvinī) in Bundelkhand and flows by the side of the mount Citrakūṭa[55]. Siddhārtha came to the opposite bank of the river Anomā which is the river Aumi in the district of Gorakhpur[56]. It has also been identified with the Kudawanadī in the Basti district of Oudh. Its banks were full of beautiful and pure pearls[57]. The Buddha took his meal near the Anotatta lake[58], one of the seven great lakes situated in the Himālayan mountain. The Buddha used the water of the Anotatta lake after his enlightenment[59]. Sixteen jars of water were brought from the Anotatta lake at the time of Aśoka's consecration ceremony[60]. Aśoka sanctified the great Bo-tree by the water of this lake and worshipped it[61]. The branch of the Bo-tree taken to Ceylon by Saṅghamittā was also sanctified by its water[62]. The Lumbinivana, which was full of sāla and kadamba trees, was the place where Siddhārtha came out of the womb of Queen Māyā[63]. It is Rummindei in the Nepal Tarai, 2 miles to the north of Bhagavānpura and about a mile north of Paderia. The beautiful Jetavana-vihāra was built at a great cost by Anāthapiṇḍika who made it over to the Buddha[64]. It is described as having sweet scented flower-trees and various kinds of deer, peacocks and birds[65]. The Gandhakūṭi or the Perfumed Chamber lay in it which was often visited by the Buddha[66]. In the Jetavana garden the Buddha had a view of Tambapaṇṇi which was later visited by him[67]. A Bodhi-plant was planted at the entrance of this vihāra in the life-time of the Buddha[68]. In this garden of Anāthapiṇḍika the Buddha dwelt in the most excellent capital of Kosala[69]. The Master while dwelling in this garden saw in the fifth year of his Buddhahood a war which was likely to take place between the Nāgas, Mahodara and Cūlodara[70].

(b) *South :*

Mahādeva was sent to Mahīsamaṇḍala which may be identified with Mandhātā on the Narmadā. Some have identified it with Mysore[71].

51. *Mahābodhiv.*, 2. 52. *Ibid*, 62. 53 *Ibid.*, 3.
54. Cf. *Matsya-purāṇa*, ch. 12.
55. Law, B. C. *Rivers of India*, p. 48; *ASR.* Vol., XXI. p. 11.
56. *Thūpav.*, 20. 57. *Dāṭhāv.*, 1. 32 58. *Mahāv.*, I. 18.
59. *Mahābodhiv.*, 36. 60. *Ibid.*, 100-101. 61. *Ibid.*, 152
62. *Ibid.*, 155. 63. *Mahābodhiv.* 14; *Thūpav.*, 82.
64. *Dāṭhāv.*, III. 28 65. *Mahābodhiv.*, 45; *Thūpav.*, 81.
66. *Mahābodhiv.*, 88. 67. *Dīpav.*, II. 2-3. 68. *Mahābodhiv*, 35, 59, 82.
69. *Dīpav.*, II. 1. 70. *Mahāv.*, I. 45-46.
71. *Mahāv.*, XII. 3; *Mahābodhiv.*, 114; *Thūpav*, 43.

Fleet takes it as the territory of Māhīsa of which the capital was Māhiṣmatī. Rakkhita was sent to Vanavāsa (modern Vanavāsī in north Kanara)[72]. Vanavāsī is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (VI, 366) and *Harivaṁśa* (5232) as the country in South India. The modern town of Vanavāsī in north Kanara seems to have preserved the old name. From the great Pallavabhogga or the country of the Pallavas the elder Mahādeva came to Ceylon with 4,60,000 monks[73]. The city of Madura was in South India where lived the daughter of the Paṇḍu king so very devoted to Vijaya of the kingdom of Lala[74]. In Kaliṅga there was a king named Kāliṅga whose capital was at Dantapura[75]. A very beautiful girl was married to king Kaliṅga of the Kāliṅga country[76]. King Brahmadatta of Dantapura, the capital of Kaliṅga, got the tooth-relic of the Buddha[77]. Dantapura was also visited by Cittayāna with his army[78]. It was invaded by Khīradhāra[79]. It was a prosperous city with alms-houses, decorated with walls, towers, buildings, palaces and valuable paintings[80]. The king of Kaliṅga daily worshipped the tooth-relic of the Buddha[81].

The capital city of Amarāvatī was so called because it was full of men resembling the immortals[82]. A rich brahmin lived at Amarāvatī who became an ascetic and later acquired higher knowledge[83]. Amarāvatī was the kingdom of Sumedha who renounced the world (*Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, p. 120). It may be identified with the modern city of Amaraoti close to the rivers of Dharaṇīkoṭṭa, a mile west of ancient Amarāvatī on the Kṛṣṇā famous for its ruined stūpa. Amarapura was a beautiful city[84]. The Godāvarī is a famous river of South India[85]. Aparagoyāna was an island which lay in the south. It was seven thousand yojanas in extent[86].

(c) *East :*

Uruvelā was visited by the Buddha[87]. It comprised the village of Senāni where Sujātā was born[88]. It was a *janapada* or country in Magadha[89]. The Buddha came here after converting the Bhaddavaggiya princes[90]. At Uruvelā in the Magadha country Gotama reached the supreme enlightenment at the foot of the Bodhi-tree on the full-moon day of the month of Vesākha[91]. According to the *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* (p. 84) Uruvelā in ancient Buddhagayā in Gaya district means a big sandy embank-

72. *Mahāv.*, XII. 3-7 ; *Thūpav.*, 43.
73. *Thūpav.*, 72-73.
74. *Mahāv.*, VII. 50.
75. *Mahābodhiv.*, 66.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
77. *Dāṭhāv.*, II. 56-57.
78. *Ibid.*, II. 100.
79. *Ibid.*, IV. 1.
80. *Ibid*, II. 101.
81. *Ibid.*, III. 7.
82. *Mahābodhiv*, 2.
83. *Thūpav.* 2.
84. *Mahābodhiv.*, p. 45.
85. *Ibid*, p. 50.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
87. *Dīpav*, I. 35.
88. *Mahābodhiv.*, p. 28.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
91. *Mahāv.*, I. 12.

ment. Here the Master converted many Jaṭilas led by Kassapa[92]. The people of Aṅga and Magadha prepared a great sacrifice[93]. The Bodhisatta did not accept the kingship of Magadha[94]. Giribbaja the earlier capital of Magadha, was inhabited by Dāsaka the leader of a school (*Dīpav*, IV. 40). In this town at the entrance of the Sattapaṇṇi Cave the First Buddhist Council was finished after seven months[95]. Mithilā was ruled by the sons and grandsons of Nāgadeva[96]. It was also ruled by Mahosadha[97]. The commentator points out that it was also ruled by the descendants of Makhādeva (*Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, p. 129). Not far from the landing place called the Gotamatittha in a small village called Pāṭaligāma Ajātasattu built an excellent city called Pāṭaliputta to overthrow the Vajjīs[98]. The road from Pāṭaliputta to the great Bodhi tree was attended to. The Bodhi tree was brought with great reverence from the Bodhi terrace to Pāṭaliputta[99]. Pāṭaliputta which was the best of towns in India, was ruled by Aśoka[100]. This city had very broad and long paths[101]. The tooth-relic of the Buddha was also brought here[102]. This city was visited by the Nigaṇṭhas[103]. Saṅghamittā lived in the city of Pāṭaliputta[104]. A ruler of the town of Pāṭaliputta daily fed 1,000 monks. Not being satisfied with this he thought of giving alms by field-cultivation. He, therefore, went to Mathurā, laboured there and with the grain produced he made an offering of alms[105]. Pupphapura (Pāṭaliputta) and Vesālī (modern Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district) were visited by the heretical monks[106]. As soon as Bindusāra fell ill Aśoka came to Pupphapura[107], which he ruled as Dhammāsoka[108]. In the country of the Vaṅgas, in the Vaṅga capital, there lived a king of the Vaṅgas who was married to a daughter of the king of the Kaliṅgas. In consequence of this union a daughter was born to the king of the Vaṅgas[109]. In the capital of the Vaṅgas a marriage took place with the uncle's daughter[110]. Sīhabāhu was the king of the Lāḷa kingdom who had a wife named Sīhasivalī[111]. Vijaya, the eldest son of king Sīhabāhu, went to Laṅkā after obtaining the status of a prince[112]. As Vijaya's father Sīhabāhu was brought up by a lion, he was called Sīhala[113].

Dhammagupta gave the most exalted position to the Mahābodhi among the Moriyas. The Moriya country itself was given to it[114]. The

92. *Mahāv.*, I. 16. 93. *Dīpav.*, I. 39. 94. *Mahābodhiv.*, 28.
95. *Dīpav.*, V. 5. 96. *Ibid.*, III. 29. 97. *Mahābodhiv.* 50.
98. *Mahābodhiv.*, 96. 99. *Thūpav.*, 52. 100. *Dīpav.*, VI. 18.
101. *Dāṭhāv.*, III. 6. 102. *Ibid.*, III. 8. 103. *Ibid.*, II. 90.
104. *Mahāv.*, XV. 21. 105. *Cūḷavaṁsa*, Ch. 92, vv. 23-26.
106. *Mahāv.*, IV. 31-32. 107. *Ibid.*, V 39. 108. *Ibid.*, XI. 24.
109. *Ibid.*, VI. 1-2. 110. *Ibid.*, VI. 20.
111. *Dīpav* IX. 2, 5 ; *Mahāv.*, VI. 36. 112. *Mahābodhiv.*, 111.
113. *Ibid.*, 111. 114. *Mahābodhiv*, 166.

prince Candagutta of the royal family of Moriyanagara became the king of Pāṭaliputta with the help of the brahmin Cāṇakya. Moriyanagara was built by the S'ākyas[115]. The Licchavis of Vesālī, the Bulis of Allakappa, and a brahmin of Veṭhadīpa wanted to have the relics of the Buddha by force[116]. The Vajjiputtaka monks preached the ten points at Vesālī[117]. The Pārājikā rules were first enforced here[118]. The Buddha left Rājagaha for S'rāvasti[119]. Rājagaha was once visited by the house-holder Sudatta who came from Sāvatthī on some business[120]. Dakkhiṇagiri country was close to the city of Rājagaha[121]. It was visited by Mahinda. This country lay to the south of Rājagaha beyond the hills that surrounded the city[122]. The elder Indagutta came through the air from the neighbourhood of Rājagana to Ceylon with 80,000 monks[123]. Between Rājagaha and Nālandā there was a royal house (rājāgāraka) situated at Ambalaṭṭhikā[124]. The Mahāvanavihāra was in the Vajji territory which contained the Master's Perfumed Chamber[125]. In the Kukkuṭārāma which was a monastery at Pāṭaliputta there lived Siggava the son of a Minister[126]. The Jīvaka-ambavana was visited by Ajātasattu, which was near Rājagaha[127]. At Vālukārāma in Vesālī the Second Buddhist Council was finished in eight months[128]. The Laṭṭhivana was a garden near Rājagaha where king Bimbisāra went to see the Buddha[129]. It was about 2 miles north of Tapovana in the district of Gayā. The *Thūpavaṁsa* (p. 81) refers to Veluvana. The Buddha lived at Sītavana which was adorned with various kinds of creepers, flowers, etc., while he revisited Rājagaha[130]. From the Aśokārāma at Pāṭaliputta the elder Mittiṇṇa came to Ceylon with 1,60,000 monks[131]. Kajaṅgala was a small market town[132]. It is stated in the *Vinaya Mahāvagga* (*Vinaya Texts*, SBE., II. 38) as well as in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (II. 429) to have been the eastern limit of Madhyadeśa beyond the Brahmin village of Mahāsāla. It is the Ka-chu-wen-ki-lo of Yuan Chwang, 2000 *li* in circuit and bounded on the north by the Ganges. It is to be located somewhere in the Rajmahal dist. It formed the western boundary of the Pūrvadeśa. Usīradhaja was a mountain[133]. The river Ganges was crossed by the Bodhisatta when it had strong currents of water. It was famous for pure water[134]. There was a landing place on its bank[135].

115. *Mahābodhiv.*, 98,
116. *Thūpav.*, 29.
117. *Mahābodhiv.*, 96.
118. *Ibid.*, 92.
119. *Ibid.*, 45.
120. *Ibid.*, 44.
121. *Thūpav.*, 43; *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, 323.
122. *Suttampāta Comm.* I. 136; *Majjhima Nikāya Comm.* II. 795.
123. *Thūpav.*, 72.
124. *Mahābodhiv.*, 93.
125. *Mahāv.*, IV. 32.
126. *Ibid.*, V. 120-122.
127. *Thūpav.*, 29; Law, B. C.: *Rājagriha in Ancient Literature*, pp. 12-13.
128. *Mahābodhiv.*, 96.
129. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39; *Thūpav.*, 81.
130. *Mahābodhiv.*, 44.
131. *Thūpav*, 72.
132. *Mahābodhiv.*, 12.
133. *Mahābodhiv.*, 12.
134. *Ibid.*, 97,
135. *Ibid.*, 27, 96.

The Bodhisatta took the rice-gruel offered by Sujātā on the bank of the river Nerañjarā where he meditated at a great sāla-grove[136]. The Bodhisatta took the golden plate to the bank of this river where the great Bodhi-tree stood[137]. On the day of his supreme enlightenment the Buddha gave his bowl after his meal to the serpent Mahakāla on the bank of this river[138]. Tāmalitti (Tamluk) was the landing place of the great Bodhi-tree while it was being carried from India to Ceylon[139]. It was a harbour at the mouth of the Ganges.

(d) *West* :

The Aparantaka country was converted by the elder Dhammarakkhita by preaching the *Aggīkkhandopama Sutta*[140]. Mahāraṭṭha was converted by the elder Mahā-Dhammarakkhita by preaching the *Nārada-Kassapa Jātaka*[141]. Mahāraṭṭha is modern Mahārāṣṭra. The port called Suppāra situated on the west coast of India was visited by Vijaya[142]. It is modern Sopara in the Thana district of the Bombay Presidency.

(e) *Central* :

Ujjayinī (Ujjenī) was the capital city of Avanti[143]. The inhabitants of Avanti were known as Avantis (*Vaṁṣatthappakāsinī*, p. 159). Avanti roughly corresponds to modern Malwa, Nimar and adjoining districts of the Central Provinces. Ancient Avanti was divided into two parts ; the northern part which had its capital at Ujjain and the southern part called Avanti-Dakkhiṇāpatha which had its capital at Māhiṣmatī. The government of Ujjayinī was led by Aśoka as soon as Bindusāra fell ill[144]. Aśoka was the ruler of Avanti according to the *Mahāvaṁsa* (xiii. 8-9 , cf. *Mahābodhiv.*, p. 98). He abandoned the government of Ujjayinī which he had taken in hand when Bindusāra became weak[145]. Before he came to Ujjayinī he halted in the town of Vedisa (Vidiśā) which may be identified with modern Bhilsa in the Gwalior State situated 26 miles north east of Bhopal[146]. The son of the king of Ujjain was faithful to the Buddha[147]. Aśoka while reigning at Ujjayinī married a Sākya girl at Vedisa which lay at a distance of fifty yojanas from Pāṭaliputta[148]. A son named Mahinda

136. *Mahābodhiv* , 8, 28; *Thūpav.*, 38; *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, p. 66.
137. *Mahābodhiv.*, 29, 35.
138. *Mahābodhiv.*, 157.
139. *Mahābodhiv.*, 154, 155; *Thūpav.*, 53.
140. *Dīpav.*, VIII. 7; *Mahāv.*, XII. 4; cf. *Thūpav.*, 72-73. *Mahābodhiv.*, 114.
141. *Dīpav.*, VIII. 8; *Mahāv.* XII. 5; *Mahābodhiv* , 114.
142. *Mahāv.*, VI. 46.
143. *Mahābodhiv.*, 99.
144. *Mahāv.*, V. 39-40.
145. *Thūpav.*, 38.
146. *Mahāv.*, XIII. 8-9; Law, B. C : *Ujjayinī in Ancient India*, p. 2.
147. *Dāṭhāv.*, IV. 7.
148. *Mahābodhiv.*, 98-99.

and a daughter named Saṅghamittā were born to them[149]. From the Vedisa mountain Mahinda went to Ceylon[150]. At Vedisa the Śākyas took shelter being afraid of Viḍūḍabha[151]. Vedisa contained a monastery called Hatthāḷhakārāma[152]. The *Thūpavaṁsa* (p. 44) refers to the Vedisa mountain on which there was a monastery (*Vetisapabbatavihāra*). Dakkhiṇagiri in Ujjayinī had a great monastery wherefrom the elder Dhammarakkhita came to Ceylon with 40,000 monks[153].

II CEYLON

Laṅkādīpa was an excellent country having a beautiful climate, fertile, a mine of treasures and an abode of the elect[154]. The *Mahāvaṁsa* and its commentary mention four main divisions of the island of Laṅkā (vide Law, B. C. : *Geographical Essays*, pp. 75-76). The island of Laṅkā was covered with great forests and full of horrors. It contained blood-thirsty demons of various kinds[155]. The island of Laṅkā was known by various names, e.g. Ojadīpa, Varadīpa, Maṇḍadīpa, Tambapaṇṇi, etc.[156]. Tāmraparṇa or Tāmravarṇa was counted as one of the eight *upadvīpas* (*Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, LVII, 2-3 ; *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, III) The island of Laṅkā was visited by some foremost brahmins who sailed there by a ship[157]. The rulers of the stainless Laṅkā carried on the government of their country in harmony and without discord like the Licchavis of Vesālī, and, therefore, they were happy[158]. The Buddha started for the island of Laṅkā to purify it by his faith[159]. Laṅkā was known to the Master as the place where his doctrine should shine in glory[160]. After the passing away of the Blessed One the great branch of the Bodhi-tree on the south was established in this island[161]. It was honoured at Anurādhapura[162]. The two schools of the Ācariyavāda named Dhammaruci and Sāgaliya arose at Laṅkā[163]. Mahinda who was sent to the Tambapaṇṇi island[164], expressed his desire to save it by showing the light to the island and causing the splendour of the Conqueror to increase. Sumana, the grandson of king Aśoka, went to Laṅkā. Later on the therī Saṅghamittā, Aśoka's daughter, who took with her the *mahābodhi*[165] went there. The city of Tambapaṇṇi was built by Prince Vijaya after his conquest of Ceylon. It was so called because prince Vijaya's men found their hands copper-coloured by the dust of the copper land on which they rested for a while with their hands stretched[166]. Tambapaṇṇi was nothing

149. *Mahābodhiv.*, 98-99 : Cf. *Thūpav.*, 43.
150. *Ibid.*, 116 ; cf. *Thūpav.* p. 43.
151. *Mahābodhiv.*, 98-99.
152. *Mahābodhiv* , 169.
153. *Thūpav.*, 72-73 ; *Mahāv* , XXIX. 35.
154. *Dīpav* , I, 17-18.
155. *Ibid.*, I. 46.
156. *Ibid.*, XVII. 5.
157. *Dāṭhāv.*, IV. 43.
158. *Cūḷav.*, 99, 98, 100.
159. *Mahāv.*, I. 19.
160. *Ibid.*, I. 20.
161. *Mahābodhiv.*, 35.
162. *Thūpav.*, 52-53.
163. *Mahābodhiv.*, 97.
164. *Ibid.*, 113, Parker : *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 235 ff.
165. *Ibid.*, 146, 153
166. *Mahābodhiv.*, 112.

but the island of Laṅkā which was meant in ancient times as Pārasamudra (GK. Palaesi-munda—*Indian Antiquary*, 1919, pp. 195-196) as well as Tāmraparṇi (GK. Taprobane)[167]. Vijaya of the kingdom of Lāḷa (situated between Kaliṅga and Vaṅga and to the east of Magadha) landed in Laṅkā in the region called Tambapaṇṇi[168]. Laṅkā was kingless for a year[169]. Paṇḍuvāsudeva ruled Laṅkā for full thirty years[170]. Anurādhapura which was a splendid city was ruled by Muṭasiva for sixty years[171]. It was an ancient capital of Ceylon (cf. *Dīpav.*, pp. 57-58) situated near the river Kadamba. It was so called because it was built on the Anurādhanakkhatta day (*Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, p. 293). It was nine yojanas in extent (*Ibid.*, p. 449). It was ruled by the Damiḷas (*Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, p. 606). Iḷanāga and Yasalākatissa also ruled it for six years and seven years eight months respectively (*Ibid.*, pp. 646-647). There were other cities, namely, Rohaṇa ruled by Goṭhābhaya (*Ibid.*, p. 430), Girilaka which was greatly under the influence of the Damiḷas (*Ibid.*, 479), Kalahanagara which lay to the south of the Mineri tank (Maṇihīrā, *Mahāv.* ch. X), Mahāgāmaṇi (*Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, p. 476), Dvāramaṇḍala (*Mahāv.* ch. X) situated near the Cetiyapabbata (Mihintale) east of Anurādhapura, Sīhapura (*Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, p. 250), Vaḍḍhamānapura (*Ibid.*, p. 353; *Dīpav.* p. 82), Ambatthala (*Mahāv.* ch. XIII) situated immediately below the Mihintale mountain in Ceylon.

The great Bo-tree was brought to Ceylon *via* Tāmalitti (modern Tamluk) by a ship (*Mahāv.*, XIX. 4-6; *Mahābodhiv.*, 154). The tooth-relic of the Buddha was duly worshipped by the king of Laṅkā[172]. The city of Vijita near Poḷonnaruva was destroyed and the king of the city of Mahela was subdued[173]. Devānaṁpiyatissa was installed in the kingdom of Tambapaṇṇi[174].

In Ceylon there was the Malaya country which contained three kinds of gems[175]. It was called Merukandara[176]. It was visited by Abhaya[177] and the younger son of Parakkama[178]. The Pulindas came to occupy the mountainous region of Malaya around Sumanakūṭa (*Mahāv.*, VII. 67-68). A merchant set out for Malaya with many carts to bring turmeric, ginger, etc.[179]. Malaya was given to the *Mahābodhi* by Candagutta[180]. A matrimonial relation was established between Laṅkā and Kaliṅga[181]. Ayojjhā was a splendid town in the island of Laṅkā[182]. The town of Abhayapura was situated near the Kadamba lake[183].

167. Mc Crindle· *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 60, 61, 173ff.
168. *Mahāv.*, VI. 47. 169. *Ibid.*, VIII. 5. 170. *Ibid.*, IX. 38.
171. *Ibid.*, XI. 4. 172. *Dāṭhāv*, V. 66.
173. *Mahāv.*, VII. 45; XXV. 19, 21, 24, 48, 76; *Thūpav*, 62-63; Parker : *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 235 ff.
174. *Dīpav.*, XI. 14. 175. *Ibid.*, XI. 19, 176. *Cūḷav.*, 44. 28.
177. *Thūpav.*, 57. 178. *Cūḷav*, 76. 194-196. 179. *Thūpav.*, 69.
180. *Mahābodhiv.*, 165. 181. *Cūḷav*, 63. 7. 182. *Ibid.*, 100. 60.
183. *Dīpav*, XVII. 12.

In the splendid town of Kalyāṇī the five storeyed palace was restored by Parakkamabāhu II[184]. Gaṅgāsirıpura (Gampola) and the splendid Hatthigıripura (Kurunegala) were visited by Vıjayabāhu IV[185]. Kıng Kittinissaṅka had fruit and flower gardens in the island of Tambapaṇṇı[186]. Pulatthinagara was rebuılt by king Parakkamabāhu[187]. It was full of pinnacled houses adorned with climbing plants and flowers[188]. Vıjayabābu IV restored this town in such a way as ıt surpassed in glory many important cities of Indıa[189]. Laṅkā was won by Parakkamabāhu by force[190]. The three suburbs called the Rājavesib-ujaṅga, Rājakulantaka and Vıjita near Poḷonnaruva (*Mahāv.*, IX. 10; XXV. 19, 21, 24, 76) which were adorned with high palaces, were laıd by Parakka-mabāhu I[191]. In Rājavesıbhujaṅga the Isipatana vıhāra was a delightful place for the ascetics[192]. Anurādhapura was utterly destroyed by the Co a army[193]. Parakkamapura was founded by Parakkamabāhu I[194]. Koṭṭhasāra lay near Pulatthinagara[195]. Uruvelā was situated near Manoragala. According to some it was the capital of that part of Rohaṇa which was called Atthasahassa. Queen Sugalā betook herself to it[196]. Madhurā was ruled by king Parakkama[197], whıch was captured by king Kulasekhara[198]. Sırıvijayarājasīha brought prıncesses from Madhurā and made them his chıef queens. He won over the people of Laṅkā and took his abode in the fair town of Sirivaḍḍhana[199]. Kittisırirājasīha increased happiness of the people of Laṅkā[200]. Dakkhiṇagıri (*Mahāv*, XXXIII. 7 ; *Cūḷav.*, XLII. 27; LII. 60) was situated 6 miles south of Sigıriya (*Epigraphia Zeylanica,* III. 266). Ambaṭṭhakola was a district ın Malya, south of Anurādhapura (*Mahāv.*, XXVIII). The Upatissagāma (*Mahāv.*, VII. 44 ; VIII. 13; IX. 14) lay to the north of Anurādhapura on the river Gambhīra. Hatthibhoga (*Mahāv.*, XXXV. 44) was in south Malaya. Ujjenī was a village (*Mahāv.*, VII. 45).

Ceylon was visited by an elder wıth 18,000 monks from the Mahāvana monastery in Vesālī, by an elder with 30,000 monks from the Ghositārāma monastery in Kosambī, by an elder with 40,000 monks from Dakkhiṇagiri in Ujjayinī, by the elder Mittiṇṇa with many monks from the Aśokārāma in Pāṭaliputta, by the elder Uttiṇṇa with many monks from the Kāśmīra country, by Mahādeva who came from Pallavabhogga in South India, by the Yona Mahādhammarakkhita who came from Alasanda. The thera Uttara came with 60,000 monks from his dwelling place by the road through the Viñjha

184. *Cūḷav.*, 85. 64-65.
185. *Ibid.*, 88. 48, 53.
186. *Ibıd.*, 80. 25.
187. *Ibid.*, 73. 55.
188. *Ibıd.*, 73. 62.
189. *Ibid.*, 88. 121.
190. *Ibıd.*, 73. 90.
191. *Ibıd.*, 73. 151-3.
192. *Ibid.*, 78. 79.
193. *Ibid.*, 74. 1.
194. *Ibid.*, 74. 15.
195. *Ibıd.*, 74. 44.
196. *Cūḷav.*, 74. 88; Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 246.
197. *Cūḷav.*, 76. 76.
198. *Ibid.*. 76. 86.
199. *Ibid.*, 98. 2-6.
200. *Ibid.*, 99. 71.

mountain, the thera Cittagutta came with 30,000 monks from the Bodhimaṇḍa-vihāra, Candagutta and Suriyagutta came from the Vanavāsa country and the Kelāsavihāra each with many monks[201].

The Sumanakūṭa also known as the Piyalakūṭa and Varadīpa (*Mahābodhiv.*, 128; *Thūpv.*, 59; *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, II. 217) may be identified with the Adam's Peak according to Geiger (*Mahāv.* Transl. p. 5, n. 1). It contained the footprint of the Buddha (*Cūḷav.* 88. 48; *Dāṭhāv,* II. 23). It was visited by the king Kittinissaṅka (*Cūḷav.* 80. 24). The commentator refers to it as a hill resided by a king named Sumana (*Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* pp. 114-115). There was a mountain called the Kāsa in the city of Anurādhapura[202]. It is probably near the modern Kahagalagāma about 18 miles south east from Anurādhapura The *Mahāvaṁsa commentary* (p. 300) refers to the Chāta mountain (*Mahāv.* XI. 10) on the south-western side of Anurādhapura. The Ariṭṭhapabbata mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa* (X. 63, 64, 65; XXI. 6) may be identified with Riṭigala north of Habarna (*Epigraphia Zeylanica,* III. 290). The Anulatissa mentioned in the *Mahāv.* (XXXVI. 15) and in the *Mahāvaṁsa commentary* (p. 659) was a mountain situated to the east of Anurādhapura. The mount Missaka, also known as the Cetiya mountain, on the eastern side of Anurādhapura, was visited by Mahinda[203]. It is the modern Mihintale mountain east of Anurādhapura (*Mahāv.* p. 101). It was so called because many shrines were built there[204]. The Ambatthala (*Mahāv.*, XIII. 20; *Cūḷav.*, XXXVIII. 76) was the highest peak at Mihintale (Mendis, *Addendum to the 1950 reprint of Geiger's Mahāv.*, Transl. p 12). The Cetiyagiri was the later name of the Missaka mountain[205]. Mahinda came here. A monastery was built on it. The right eye-relic was enshrined in the Cetiyagiri after removing it from the Maṇithūpa[206]. A Bodhi plant was planted on the Cetiyapabbata[207]. In Ceylon there was another mountain called Malaya[208], which was the central mountain region in the interior of Ceylon (*Mahāv.*, p. 69). The Udumbara was a mountain situated near a village close to the Ganges (*Mahāv., Comm.* p. 287). The Abhayagiri (*Mahāv.*, p. 275) lies outside the north gate of the ruined city of Anurādhapura, and the Silakūṭa (*Mahāv.*, p. 102) is the northern peak of the Mihintale mountain. The Cittalapabbata (*Mahāv*, XXII. 23; XXXV. 81) was in the Hambantoṭa dist. The Koṭapabbata (*Mahāv.*, XXII. 25; XXIII. 55, 61) was near the Ākāsa Cetiya. The Goṭapabbata (*Mahāv.*, XXXV. 124) or the Goṭapāsāṇapabbata (*Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, p 657) was in the southern part

201. *Mahāv.* XXIX, 33-43.
202. *Ibid.*, X. 27; XXV. 50; *Thūpav*, 62.
203. *Thūpav.*, 44; *Mahāv.*, XIII. 20.
204. *Thūpav.*, 47; Geiger · *Mahāv.*, Transl. p. 114, f. n. 3.
205. *Cūḷav.*, 78. 108.
206. *Mahābodhiv.*, 138-39, 141.
207. *Ibid*, 162.
208. *Ibid.*, 20.

of Rajaraṭa. The Maṇināgapabbata (*Mahāv.*, XXXIV. 89; cf. *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, 637) was in Rohaṇa. The Pāsāṇapabbata was in Anurādhapura (*Mahāv.*, X. 95.). The Pañjalipabbata (*Mahāv.*, XXXII. 14) was near the source of the Kirindi Oya (Mendis, *Addendum*, p. 19).

The Gaṅgā was a river (*Mahāv.*, *Comm.* p. 92). The Damiḷas had settlements on both sides of the Ganges. They were killed on the banks of the Ganges[209]. King Gajabāhu came to its bank, built his capital there and lived happily[210]. The river Kadamba lay to the east of Anurādhapura. It was a charming river of Ceylon full of roaring waves and black geese[211]. It is identical with modern Malwaṭṭe-Oya which flows by the ruins of Anurādhapura (Cf. *Dīpav.*, 82). The Kalyāṇī (mod. Kaelanigaṅgā, cf. *Jāt.*, II. 128) was a river falling into the sea near Colombo where there was a nāga king named Maṇiakkhika who was established in the Refuges[212]. There were other rivers, namely, Gambhīra (*Mahāv.*, *Comm.* p. 261) which flows 7 or 8 miles north of Anurādhapura; Karinda (*Mahāv.* p. 258) which is the modern Karinda-oya in the southern province of Ceylon; Goṇaka (*Ibid.*, XXXV) which is the modern Kaḷu-oya river in Ceylon; Mahāgaṅgā (*Mahāv.* p. 82) which is the modern Mahāwadigaṅgā river in Ceylon. The Goṭhasamudda (*Mahāv.*, XXII.) may mean a sea near Ceylon. The Kusmi was a port where the five vessels arrived full of warriors[213]. The Sakkarasobbha was also a port in the country of Rohaṇa (*Mahāv.*, *Comm.* p. 643; *Mahāv.* XXXV. 28). Pāsāṇatittha was a landing place in Ceylon[214]. Jambukola was also a landing place in north Ceylon[215]. It was also a port[216]. The road from the north gate up to this port was cleaned and adorned by As'oka's orders[217]. Uruvelā mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, IX. 9; XXXV. 58 was a port, 5 yojanas west of Anurādhapura. The Kolambagamika (*Mahāv.*, *Comm.* p. 653), the Dīghavāpi (*Mahāv.*, p. 10; Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 318 ff.), the Tissavāpi (*Mahāv*, *Comm.*, p. 160), the Maṇihīra (*Ibid.*, p. 324) and the Kālivāpi (*Ibid.*, 299) were the important tanks. The Dīghavāpi is probably the modern Kandiya-kaṭṭu tank in the eastern province of Ceylon. The Tissavāpi is a tank near Mahāgāma[218]. The Maṇihīrā is the modern Minneriyā, a tank near Poḷonnaruwa. The Kālivāpi was built by king Dhātusena by banking up the river Kaḷu-oya or Goṇanadī. The Padumapokkharaṇī was also a tank[219].

209. *Thūpav.*, 56, 60; *Mahāv. Comm.* p. 92.

210. *Cūḷav.*, 71. 1.

211. *Mahābodhiv.*, 120; *Mahāv. Comm.* p. 261.

212. *Mahāv.*, I, 63-64.

213. *Cūḷav.*, 76. 59.

214. *Mahābodhiv.*, 134, 135.

215. *Mahāv.*, XI. 23.

216. *Thūpav.*, 53.

217. *Ibid.*, 53.

218. Tissamanārāma in Hambantoṭa Dist, Mendis: *Addendum to the 1950 reprint of Geiger's Transl. of the Mahāv.*, p. 17.

219. *Mahāv. Comm.*, p. 633.

There was a lake called the Abhayavāpi[220], which was laid out by king Paṇḍukābhaya himself. It is now called Basawak-kulam[221]. The water was drawn from it by a wheel[222]. The Giridīpa has been described as a beautiful island extending over an area of 1,000 yojanas[223]. It is called the island of hills It is also called Yak-giridūwa or the island of demon hills[224]. It is described as a place beautifully adorned by rivers, mountains, lakes etc. It was full of excellent food and rich grain with a bracing climate[225].

The Mahāmeghavana which was a solitary garden was visited by Mahinda[226]. This garden which stretched south of Anurādhapura was accepted by Mahinda for the construction of a monastery therein for the monks. It was laid out by Muṭasiva[227]. It was a beautiful garden provided with fruit and flower trees[228]. The Ganthākarapariveṇa was built in it[229]. The Nandana garden was also a pleasant spot[230]. There was the delightful Mahānāga garden in the centre of Laṅkā. It was three yojanas long and one yojana wide. The right collar bone of the Buddha was brought here[231]. The Mahiyaṅganathūpa was built in it[232]. The Mahātittha near Abhayapura[233] and Mahāanoma[234] were also the gardens of Ceylon. The Nandanavana and the Mahāmeghavana were the two forests mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa* (p. 126). The Nandanavana stretched between the Mahāmeghavana and the southern wall of the city of Anurādhapura. The Mahāmeghavana lay south of Anurādhapura. The Malaya forest lay at Anurādhapura[235]. The Cittapassa[236] and Mahindaguha[237] were the two caves. The Ākāsacetiya was situated on the summit of a rock not very far from Cittalapabbata monastery[238]. The Paṭhamacetiya was situated outside the eastern gate of the city of Anurādhapura[239].

The Jambukolavihāra contained many golden statues of the Buddha[240]. In the Kalyāṇīvihāra the vast and splendid cetiya which was destroyed by the Damiḷas was restored with a golden finial put upon it and a gate-tower built on the eastern side[241]. In the Hatthagallavihāra a two-storeyed circular relic temple was built by Goṭhābhaya[242]. The tooth-relic of the Buddha was in

220. *Mahāv. Comm*, p. 497; *Mahāv.*, X.
221. Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 360 ff.
222. *Mahāv. Comm.*, p 629.
223. *Ibid*, p. 80.
224. Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 13.
225. *Ibid*, p. 13.
226. *Dīpa.*, XIII. 18, 25; *Thūpav.*, 51.
227. *Mahāv.*, XI. 2.
228. *Ibid.*, XI. 4.
229. *Cūḷav.*, 52, 57.
230. *Mahāv*, XV. 1-2.
231. *Mahāv.*, 1, 21; *Mahābodhiv.*, 130; *Thūpav.*, 58, 49.
232. *Mahābodhiv.*, 130; *Thūpav.*, 49, 58; *Mahāv.*, I. 21-24; Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 315 ff.
233. *Mahāv. Comm.*, 349.
234. *Ibid*, 3˙3.
235. *Mahābodhiv.*, p. 170.
236. *Mahāv. Comm*, p. 290.
237. *Ibid.*, p. 607.
238. *Mahāv.*, p. 172.
239. *Ibid.*, p 107
240. *Cūḷav.*, 80. 22-23
241. *Ibid.*, 81. 60-61.
242. *Ibid.*, 85. 73.

the Labujagāmavihāra (Delgamuva near Kuruvita north of Ratnapura)[243]. The Meghagirivihāra was situated to the north-east of Anurādhapura[244]. The Mahiyaṅganavihāra contained the Kañcuka thūpa[245], which was venerated by celebrating a great festival with many fragrant flowers, lamps, etc. The Jetavanavihāra[246] was situated near the Abhayagiri dagoba at Anurādhapura. It was built in a garden called the Jotivana[247]. The Dakkhiṇagirivihāra was built by Uttiya. It was a great monastic centre for a long time. Dhātusena restored it. The Tissamahāvihāra or Tissārāma[248] was built by Tissa at Rohaṇa. It was situated in south Ceylon, north-east of Hambantoṭa. The Maricavaṭṭivihāra[249] was completed by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi in three years. He built it as an act of expiation. It was renovated by Vohārikatissa. Goṭhābhaya built an *uposatha* hall. Parakkamabāhu I rebuilt the thūpa, destroyed by the Damiḷas. The Anurārāma which was dilapidated was repaired[250]. The Pupphārāma was a decorated monastery[251]. The Girivihāra was built and made over to the church with 2,000 pieces of land for its maintenance[252]. The Pācīnārāma in Nāgadīpa was the eastern monastery at Anurādhapura[253]. The Bahumaṅgalacetiya and the Ambatthalacetiya were built in the island of Laṅkā[254]. In the northern direction from the Maṅgala shrine king Upatissa built a thūpa, an image and a room for the image[255]. The Cittalavihāra where Saṅgharakkhita thera lived, Mallināgavihāra[256] and Abhayagallakavihāra[257], Sejalaka and Cānavelavihāras[258] may be mentioned.

The Mahāmeghavanārāma was the first *ārāma* or monastery in the island of Laṅkā bestowed on the fraternity. Bhātutissa put a wall-fence with towers at the gate of the Mahāmeghavanārāma. A golden thūpa was built in it. This monastery which was once known as the Mahāsāgara was given to the Buddha as a precious gift. It was also known as the Mahātittha during the time of the Buddha Kakusandha. The Bodhi branch was planted there[259].

At Anurādhapura the Thūpārāma which was a vihāra was situated in the southern direction[260]. The Buddha spent a moment in happiness of meditation on the site of the Thūpārāma cetiya[261]. The Thūpārāma was bell-shaped and enclosed by a colonnade formed of rough hewn and palmyra

243. *Cūlav.*, 94. 11. 244 *Dāṭhāv.*, V. 13. 245. *Ibid.*, II. 51; *Thūpav.*, 58.
246. *Mahāv.*, XXXVII. Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 307 ff.
247. *Mahāv. Comm*, p. 681. 248. *Mahāv.*, XX
249. *Mahāv. Comm.*, p. 499. 250 *Cūlav*, 41. 101.
251. *Ibid.*, 100 86-87. 252 *Ibid.*, 42. 9 253. *Mahāv*, XX. 25-26.
254. *Cūlav.*, 38 65; 37. 74. 255. *Ibid.*, 37 183.
256 *Mahāv. Comm.*, p. 552. 257. *Ibid*, p. 625.
258. *Ibid.*, p 657. 259. *Mahāv*, XXXVII. *Thūpav.*, 52.
260 *Dīpav.*, XVII. 11. 261. *Dāṭhāv.*, II. 27; Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 263f.

palm-shaped pillars of stone supporting the roof. It was erected by Devānaṁpiyatissa and was the first of its kind in Ceylon. It was built after the thūpa was erected. In this monastery Abhaya built a double canopy made of silver over the thūpa. The cetiya of the Thūpārāma was situated near the southern wall of the city in the Nandana garden which stretched between the Mahāmeghavana and the southern wall of the city of Anurādhapura. It was worshipped perpetually with gifts of jewels. Offerings were brought by the nobles, ministers, women of the royal household, and town and country-folk[262]. A relic chamber was built in this ārāma. When the beautiful thūpa in the Thūpārāma was completed, it was worshipped perpetually with many gifts of jewels. Lajjitassa levelled the ground between the Thūpārāma and the Mahāthūpa. A village was granted to the Thūpārāma for its maintenance.

The Mahāthūpa was also erected by king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi[263]. It was erected at Anurādhapura. When Devānaṁpiyatissa was informed by Mahinda of the great sanctity of the place, he desired to build the thūpa himself. Mahinda asked him not to do so, as it would be done by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. The thūpa is like a water-bubble in shape, and its architect was Sirivaḍḍha. The cetiya is 120 cubits high. The relic chamber is magnificent. It is a great place of pilgrimage of the Buddhists from the time of its erection down to the present day. It is also known as Mahācetiya and Hemavāluka. This thūpa was visited by the Buddha where the Master engaged himself in meditation. It was a gigantic bell-shaped relic shrine built about 160 years B. C. King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi erected it on the model of the Sāñchi and Bārhut stūpas, at the foundation of which, the materials of different kinds were used. After the foundation was laid the monks were summoned and the circle of the base of the cetiya was described. Many elders were present including some who came from Jambudīpa at the time of the laying of the foundation. King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi spent 20 or 24 invaluable treasures for building the Mahāthūpa. Abhaya, the son of Koṭikaṇṇa, visited this great thūpa and walked round it and saw the relic chamber. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa* in the midst of the relic chamber a Bodhi-tree made of jewels was placed. The Mahāthūpa with its lofty height and imposing mound bears testimony to the splendid architecture of Ceylon. The Mahāthūpa class of Buddhist stūpas in Ceylon later came to be provided with four entrance points, each containing an image inside, reminding us of the famous Shwe Dagon Pagoda of Burma.

The Mahāvihāra on the Cetiya mountain was completed by king Devānaṁpiyatissa[264]. It was a great monastery at Anurādhapura and a great centre of Buddhism in Ceylon for many centuries. Dhātusena had its

262. *Mahāv.*, XVII. 62-63.

263. *Dīpav.*, XIX. 2.

264. *Mahāv.*, XX. 7-8

walls painted with various ornamental designs. Tissa built 12 edifices. Saṅghabodhi constructed a room in it where food was distributed by tickets. Abhaya and Goṭhābhaya each built a stone pavilion in it. Meghavaṇṇābhaya constructed several *pariveṇas* in this vihāra which lost its importance after the removal of the capital from Anurādhapura to Pulatthipura.

The Lohapāsāda or the quadrangular palace of nine storeys was built by king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi at a great cost[265]. According to the *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* Duṭṭhagāmaṇi built it when the old one was removed. It was roofed with iron plates by Saddhātissa. It was four-sided measuring 100 cubits on each side and so much in height. All the chambers in it were decorated with silver and the coral balustrades were adorned with precious stones. There were 1,000 well-arranged chambers in it. It stood as a magnificent palace surrounded by a beautiful enclosure and provided with four gateways. As it was covered with bricks of copper and iron, it came to be known as the Brazen Palace. It was presented to the brotherhood. On the first storey stood the ordinary people ; on the second story those versed in the three *Piṭakas* ; and on each of the three upper storeys beginning with the third, stood the stream-winners (*sotāpatti*), the once-returners (*sakadāgāmi*) and the non-returners (*anāgāmi*). The cankerwaned (*arhats*) alone stood on the four uppermost storeys. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa* Saddhātissa built this palace anew seven storeys high. Goṭhābhaya renewed the pillars of this palace. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi raised aloft to seven storeys the Lohapāsāda originally built by Devānampiyatissa[266]. Bhātikābhaya carried out repairs to the Brazen Palace. The contents of the relic chamber of the Mahāthūpa were described by him to all the monks of the Mahāvihāra assembled in the Lohapāsāda. The right eye-relic of the Buddha was kept in the Brazen Palace well-guarded and was worshipped day and night[267].

265. *Dīpav.*, XIX. 1.

266. *Mahāv.*, XV. 206; Geiger, *Mahāv.*, *Transl.* p 112 fn. 5.

267. *Cūlav.*, 42. 53.

Early Muslim Settlements in India

By

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The settlement of the Muslims in India constitutes a landmark in the history of this country. Probably no other event, since the advent of the Aryans, has so profoundly affected her history and culture. It is, therefore, necessary to examine critically the nature of the early Muslim settlements in India and their effect upon the people.

The generally accepted view that the Muslim settlements in India, in any large scale, generally followed their political conquest, has been recently challenged by some scholars. Among the notable representatives of this view, we may mention Dr. Tarachand[1] and Prof. M. A. Ghani[2]. It is necessary to discuss their views at some length, as owing to political considerations or some other reasons a section of Indians seems to have favoured them without critical examination of the data on which they are based.

Prof. Ghani's views may be summed up as follows, as far as possible in his own words :—

1. The earliest batches of Arabs came to India in A. D. 637, not as fighters but as tradesmen and missionaries, along with a number of Persian families who had embraced Islam.

2. They landed in Sindh, wrote poems in Hindi which were appreciated by the local people and rulers, and knew Prakrit well. One of these poets, a young Arab resident of Mansurah, the capital of Sindh, wrote a Prakrit poem in praise of the Raja of Alura and was greatly honoured by him.

3. The Arabs who came to this country in the regime of the first four Caliphs were innocent visitors or traders, and it is an error to suppose that they were led towards India for territorial conquests in all cases. Those who came by sea to Thana in A. D. 637, and two more groups who subsequently landed at Broach and Debal, were not out for conquests.

4. The Indians were profoundly impressed with the purity of living of the Muslims and their principle of world-wide brotherhood. They

1. Dr. Tarachand : *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture,* pp. 29 ff.
2. *Proceedings, Oriental Conference,* Vol. X, pp. 403 ff.

embraced Islam in large numbers, over fifty thousand people every year.

For statements 1 and 2, the authority cited is Buzurg bin Shahriyar's *Ajaib-ul-Hind*, a book composed in the tenth century A. D. and described in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* as 'mere sailor's tales with fantastic exaggerations'. The unreliable character of the second statement appears clearly from the well-known fact that the town of Mansurah was not founded till long after the conquest of Sindh by the Arabs. An account based on such a work does not deserve serious consideration. Besides, much of what Prof. Ghani wrote really does not follow from the book.

As regards the statement No. 3, it is flatly contradicted by the explicit statements of *Chachnāmah* and Baladhuri our two most reliable authorities on the history of that period. Both have referred to them as military expeditions. and describe the course of the battles[3]. According to *Chachnāmah*, it was during Umar's Caliphate (A. D. 634-644) that 'an army of Islam was first sent out to different parts of Hind and Sind to carry on religious war there'.

As regards the statement No. 4, no authority has been cited and the *Chachnāmah* does not contain the least trace of such a numerically strong Muslim community in Sindh before its conquest by Muhammad ibin Qasim. It refers to a body of 500 Muslim Arab troops who fled to India to evade punishment by the Caliph and were taken into service by Dahar, the king of Sindh. In the very circumstantial narrative of the progress of Muhammad's army from one end of Sindh to the other, there is absolutely no mention of any Muslim community met by him. As to the voluntary conversion of the Indians to Islam, we shall have occasion to refer later to the process by which Islam was established in Sindh.

It would thus appear that there is absolutely no basis for the statements of Prof. Ghani quoted above and of the many still more extravagant claims made by him in favour of the early Muslim settlers in India.

Dr. Tarachand is of opinion that the Muslims settled in large numbers in the coastal regions of South of India in the 7th century A. D. He quotes as his authorities Rowlandson, Francis Day and Sturrock[5]. These modern writers base their conclusions entirely on the popular traditions current among the Moplahs, Navayats and Labbes of South India.

Traditional accounts of the origin of Moplahs differ materially from one another. Some of them, said to have settled on the Western coast in the

3. These have been fully described in my 'Arab Invasion of India' (*JIH.* X. Supplement).

4. *Chachnāmah* · Trasl. by M. K. Fredunberg, I. 57.

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

7th century, are described as descendants of Hashem, expelled by the Prophet from Arabia. A Muslim merchant named Malik Medina, accompanied by some priests, is said to have settled in or near Mangalore. A story is current among the Navayats that their ancestors fled from the Persian Gulf about the close of the 7th century A.D. to escape the cruelty of a Governor of Iran. *Tuhfat-ul-Mujahidin*[6], a work composed in the 16th century A.D., preserves the legend of a king of Cranganore, who adopted Islam, proceeded to Arabia and died there. It is said that after his death Islam was spread in all parts of Malabar, in the year 200 of the Hijra, i.e. 9th century A.D. These are all very late traditions and cannot, in any case, be regarded as evidence for large Muslim settlements in Malabar in the 7th century, as contended by Sturrock[7]. Francis Day, who has recorded some of these traditions current in Malabar and studied the history of the Moplahs, is of opinion that the 'Muhammadans obtained no great footing until the 9th century A.D.'[8]

How little such traditions among the Muslims of Malabar about the origin of their settlements deserve any credence may be judged from similar traditions current among the Jews and Syriac Christians, settled in the same regions even from a much earlier time. The Jews of Cochin possess a definite tradition about their migration to India written in Hebrew in the form of a narrative. According to it, they left Jerusalem after the destruction of their second temple by the Romans in A. D. 70 and came in large numbers to India. They settled in Cranganore in lands granted to them by the king. This grant was recorded on a copper plate in the year 4250 counting from the creation which corresponds to A. D. 490[9]. Fortunately for history, this copper plate has been faithfully preserved by them. Many early writers dated it as early as 700 A. D. but the most expert opinion would not place it earlier than the 14th century A. D.[10].

The Christian community in Malabar traces its origin to the apostle St. Thomas, one of the disciples of Christ. But the earliest definite mention of any such community is to be found in a work of the sixth century A. D. which shows that even then the community was very insignificant in number and importance.

It is difficult to believe that the Moplahs, Navayats and Labbes of South India, who are far less advanced in education and culture than the Jews or Christians, have preserved more faithful traditions about their origin than

6. Trasl. by Rowlandson, M. J., p. 47.
7. *Madras District Manuals, South Kanara*, pp. 180-1.
8. *The land of the Perumals*, p. 365.
9. Rae, G. M. : *The Syrian Church in India*, pp. 137 ff.
10. *Epigraphia Indica*, III, pp. 68 ff.

the latter. Like the Jews and the Christians they push back their immigration to the days of their Prophet or the period immediately after it. All these traditions bear a striking resemblance and must be regarded as worthless for purposes of history. Individual travellers and merchants, or even small groups of them, undoubtedly, visited different localities and some of them might have even settled there, but we have no evidence whatsoever that there was a strong Muslim community anywhere in India before the 8th century A.D.[11]

It is beyond the scope of the present paper to discuss the causes of the various wars waged by the Caliphs–as the successors of the Prophet are called–or to examine their justification or expediency. But the fact remains that the spread of Islam almost invariably followed in the wake of military victories, at least during the early centuries of its history. So far as historical evidence goes, Islam got a definite footing only in those parts of Asia, Africa and Europe, which had first been politically conquered by the army of the Caliphs, and not beyond that limit. This area was of course quite large but the point to be noted is that unlike every other religion, whose history is known to us, the field of early missionary enterprise of Islam was almost co-extensive with its political domains, acquired by military force. It is not the gunboats that followed the missionary, but the missionaries that followed the gunboats.

There is no ground to suppose that India formed an exception to the rule. In any case we cannot accept such an unusual thing except on unimpeachable testimony, and any positive evidence is altogether lacking. We must, therefore, dismiss from our minds any idea of a large scale settlement of Muslims in India before its political conquest by them. This conclusion is not of mere academic importance. Many scholars have been seeking far and wide to find out the origin of the new religious movements in South India beginning with those of S'aṅkara. Some held that they were all due to the influence of Christian communities in the South. More sober scholars reject this view 'because the historical conditions necessary for Christian contact in the South are wanting'. But there are other scholars who attribute the new religious movements to Islam. In other words, the Muslim settlements in Malabar fulfilled, in their opinion, the historical conditions necessary for contact with Islam. This means, in plain language, that S'aṅkara's monism was based upon the Islamic creed which he had learnt from the forefathers of the Moplahs, Navayats and Labbes of South India. And this view has found its strong protagonist in Dr. Tarachand[12].

It now remains to consider how far the Hindus, being impressed by the purity and brotherhood of Islam, gladly embraced the new faith in large number. Fortunately, Baladhuṛi and *Çhachnāmah* have preserved abundant

11. Ræ : *op. cit.* Chs. IV, IX,
12. *Op. cit.*, pp. 106-7.

details to form a definite judgment on this issue. They show how, after the conquest of Sindh, Muhammad ibn Qāsim made a definite and deliberate attempt to make Islam a dominant force in that country, partly by large scale settlements of Muslim colonists from abroad, and partly by conversion of the local Hindus and Buddhists. As regards the first we learn from Baladhuri (II. 218) that after the capture of Debal Muhammad marked out a quarter for the Muslims, built a mosque, and settled four thousand colonists there. It may be easily presumed that the same process was followed in other important cities.

As regards the conversions of Indians to Islam, the perusal of *Chachnāmah* leaves no doubt that it was mainly due to the cruel humility and indignity which the Hindus suffered at the hands of the Muslim conquerors, combined with the inducements offered to them to better their social status and material prospects in life by the adoption of the new faith. We learn from the *Chachnāmah* that every Hindu in the conquered territory was to pay a tribute, but was exempted from it and from slavery as soon as he became a convert. Muhammad expressly told an assembly of the Hindus that 'those who are still inclined to be of their own faith, must put up with injuries (*gazand*) and tribute (*jizia*) to retain the religion of their fathers and grandfathers. Thereupon, some resolved to live in their native land, but others took to flight in order to maintain the faith of their ancestors, and their horses, domestics and other properties were taken away from them'[13].

In pursuance of the same policy Muhammad wrote letters to the chiefs of Sindh calling upon them all to surrender and accept the faith of Islam, and appointed to high offices those who adopted the new religion[14]. Caliph Umar II (717–720 A. D.) also invited the rulers of Sindh to become Muslims and agreed to let them continue on their thrones and have the same rights and privileges as the Muslims. Many chiefs, including Jaisiṁha, the son of Dāhar, took advantage of the offer[15]. No wonder that other chiefs and a large number of people accepted the new faith. But that it was due more to force and temptation than a real regard for Islam appears from the fact that Jaisiṁha took the earliest opportunity to renounce Islam and resume his fight against the Muslims. And in less than forty years, as soon as the Muslim authority was weakened in Sindh, "the people of al-Hind (i.e., India) apostatised with the exception of the inhabitants of Kassah[16]."

This detailed account resting on the authority of Baladhuri and *Chachnāmah* gives lie direct to the theory that the Hindus in Sindh eagerly embraced

13. *Chachnāmah*, pp. 164-5.
14. *Ibid.*, pp 85, 157-8.
15. Elliot : *History of India as told by its own historians*, Vol. I, p. 440.
16. Baladhuri : *Kitab Fatuh al-Buldan*, Vol. II (Transl. by F. C. Murgotten), pp. 228-9.

Islam in large number, of their own free will[17]. It also proves what little value we can place upon the traditions of later times that big Muslim communities flourished in South India in the 7th and 8th centuries A. D.

Reference may be made in conclusion to the plea often put forward that the treatment of the Hindus by the Muslims, as described above, followed the general policy of the age. Against this it may be pointed out that according to the *Chachnāmah*, the Muslims who were prisoners in Sindh before its conquest by Muhammad ibn Qasim told the latter that they were very well treated by the Hindus[18]. We also learn from Baladhuri[19] that when the Hindus of Sindan successfully rebelled against their Muslim ruler, they killed him, but left 'its mosque for the Muslims to assemble in and pray.'

17. In connection with the Muslim conquest of Persia, Syed Ameer Ali observes as follows in his *History of the Saracens* (1951) pp. 33-4.

'Liberty of conscience was allowed to every one, and the Moslems were ordered not to interfere with the religion of the people. Those who adhered to their old faith received the designation of *Zimmis* (the protected people or liege-men). The sole inducement to proselytism, if inducement it can be called, consisted in the fact that whereas Moslems, who were liable at any time to be called to serve in the army, contributed only a tithe to the State, the *Zimmis* paid a higher tax in consideration of being exempted from military service. The bulk of the people, without any such compulsion as is used by some modern nations for the conversion of unorthodox communities, adopted Islam.'

The breaking of temples and raising mosques in their places, which was a regular feature of Muslim conquest in India, is hardly compatible with the policy of 'non-interference with the religion.' That *Zimmi* was an insulting title and denoted a status of perpetual inferiority has been maintained by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who has also shown that the *Jizya* was imposed, not merely as a source of revenue, as Ameer Ali implies, but as a means of humiliation, as explicitly stated in the Quran (IX. 29). *Hindusthan Standard*, Special Pūjā Issue, 1950).

18. *Chachnāmah*, p. 85.

19. II. 233.

Pravarapura, an Ancient Capital of the Vākāṭakas

By

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Pravarapura has long been known from inscriptions of the Vākāṭaka dynasty which ruled over ancient Vidarbha from the third to the sixth century A. D. It was first noticed as the place of issue mentioned in the Chammak plates of Pravarasena II, discovered as far back as 1868, but no attempt was made to identify it by any of the editors of the grant[1]. It was next found mentioned in the Dudia plates of the same king, edited by Prof. Kielhorn, but he also made no suggestion about its location. This second mention of the town as the place of issue in Pravarasena II's charters suggested to Dr. Jayaswal that it was a new capital founded by the Vākāṭaka king after his name[2]. He could not, however, identify the place. The first suggestion about its location was made by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit in a note added to Mr. T. A. Wellsted's article on the Vākāṭakas published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (New Series), Vol. XXIX, pp. 159ff. He conjectured that Pavnār in the Wardha District, which has a high, strong old fort overlooking a river, was very probably identical with Pravarapura of the Vākāṭaka copper-plates. There were, however, no definite indications of the antiquity of the place to support this identification. Again, Dikshit thought that the town was founded by Pravarasena I, an early Vākāṭaka ruler. In the article on the capitals of the Vākāṭakas which I contributed to the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference[3] I pointed out that the earlier capital of the Vākāṭaka dynasty was at Nandivardhana, where the earliest Vākāṭaka grant known till then was made. This place is identical with modern Nandardhan or Nagardhan near Rāmṭek in the Nagpur District. Nandivardhana appears to have continued to be the capital of the Vākāṭakas till the thirteenth regnal year of Pravarasena II. Some of the later charters of this king were issued from Pravarapura, which shows that he founded the city, named it after himself and shifted the seat of his government there some time after the thirteenth regnal year. The town, therefore, could not have

1. No suggestion was made at the time that it was a capital of the Vakāṭakas. Sir A. Cunningham, however, suggested that the capital of the dynasty might have been situated at Bhāndak in the Chanda District of Madhya Pradesh as he supposed that the name of the royal family could be connected with it. That this is philologically impossible has been shown by Fleet *CII*. III, p. 234.

2. *History of India*, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D., p. 76.

3. *Proceedings and Transactions of the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference*, pp. 455 ff.

been founded by Pravarasena I, who flourished five generations earlier than Pravarasena II. The site of this new capital, however, remained unidentified and would have continued to do so but for the fortuitous discovery of some sculptures in the course of digging in the fields near Shri Vinobaji's *āsrama* at Pavnār As shown below, the sculptures afford a clue for the identification of Pravarapura.

Pavnār is now a small village on the right bank of the Dhām, 6 miles from Wardha on the Nagpur-Wardha road. It has an old fort surrounded on three sides by the river which serves as a moat. Old sculptures and coins are occasionally discovered in the village, thus testifying to its antiquity. On the opposite or left bank of the river lies the *āsrama* of Shri Vinobaji, the well-known follower of Mahatma Gandhi. Nearly twenty years ago, Vinobaji found some panels while digging in the fields round his *āsrama*. Two of these, Panels I and VI described below, have been housed by him in a special hut or a small structure built for the purpose. As these sculptures were not seen by any archaeologist, their importance was not brought to the notice of scholars for several years. When I visited the place in 1949 they attracted my attention at once. I photographed them and brought them to the notice of scholars in the articles which I contributed first to the local papers and then to the D. V. Potdar Volume in Marathi. Since then some more panels have been discovered in the fields. They also have been placed on pedestals near the *āsrama*. Some more images were discovered from time to time in the village of Pavnār. I propose to describe them all here from photographs, for one of which I am obliged to Mr. Krishna Deva, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Central Circle, Patna and for some others to Mr. V. P. Rode, Assistant Curator, Central Museum, Nagpur. For a few blocks used to illustrate this article, I am grateful to the authorities of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala, Poona.

Figure I :—This panel, 3′-8″ by 3′-5″ in size, is now kept in a small hut built for the purpose near the *āsrama*, and is made *Bharata-bheṭa* (Meeting of Bharata). There are four figures in this panel, *viz.* Sītā, Rāma, Bharata and Laksmaṇa. One other figure appears by the side of Sītā, but it is partially cut. The panel, being more than 1500 years old, is much worn out; still the figures are fairly clear. Sītā has clasped the arm of Rāma who is speaking to Bharata. He has affectionately placed his left hand on the right palm of Bharata[4]. Rāma's face shines with serenity. Bharata, who has slightly bent down his face, appears delighted to meet his revered elder brother. Lakṣmaṇa, on the other hand, has turned away his face and appears

4. This is in accordance with the description in the *Rāmāyaṇa* :

कथञ्चिदभिविज्ञाय विवर्णवदनं कृशम् ।

भ्रातरं भरतं रामः परिजग्राह पाणिना ॥ II. 100, 2.

Bharata-bheṭa



Fig. I (*Courtesy of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala, Poona*)

Birth of Rāma



Fig II (*Courtesy of the Central Museum, Nagpur C P*)

disconsolate. All the figures are clad only in a lower garment like that noticed in the frescos of Ajaṇṭā. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa wear matted hair, Bharata's hair has fallen on both his shoulders. All the figures are very well modelled Rāma's body appears graceful and Lakṣmaṇa's muscular. There is no artificiality seen anywhere in the modelling or the pose of any of the figures. Naturalness, restraint and simplicity of expression, which are known to be the characteristics of the Gupta art, are all noticed in the figures of this panel. There is no doubt, therefore, that it is of the Gupta age.

This panel is rightly named *Bharata-bheṭa* (Meeting of Bharata) by Vinobajı, but this meeting is not the one which took place at Nandigrāma after Rāma's return from Laṅkā. It is the earlier one which occurred at Citrakūṭa. We know from Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* that Bharata, on his return to Ayodhyā, came to know of the exile of Rāma and the death of Daśaratha. He at once decided to bring Rāma back, and for that purpose started in search of him, accompanied by his ministers and army as well as the people of Ayodhyā. Rāma was then staying on the Citrakūṭa hill. When he noticed a large cloud of dust in the distance, he asked Lakṣmaṇa to find out the cause of it. Lakṣmaṇa climbed a tree and from the banner marked by the *kovidāra* tree, he inferred that Bharata was coming towards them. He then said to Rāma:

संपन्नं राज्यमिच्छंस्तु व्यक्तं प्राप्याभिषेचनम् ।
आवां हन्तुं समभ्येति कैकेय्या भरतः सुतः ॥
* * * *
संप्राप्तोऽयमरिर्वीर भरतो वध्य एव हि ।
भरतस्य वधे दोषं नाहं पश्यामि राघव ॥
पूर्वापकारिणं हत्वा न ह्यधर्मेण युज्यते ।
पूर्वापकारी भरतस्त्यागे धर्मश्च राघव ॥

(*Rāmāyaṇa* II. 96, 18; 23-24)

'Bharata, who has evidently got himself crowned, desires to have a prosperous kingdom. He is, therefore, coming here evidently to do away with us. . . . . O brave Rāma! this Bharata, our enemy, has come. He must be killed. I do not see any harm in killing him. One does not incur any sin by killing a person who has already wronged him. Bharata has done so to us. Nothing but religious merit will accrue to us by doing away with him.'

Rāma, however, could guess the real purpose of Bharata's visit. He, therefore, tried to disabuse Lakṣmaṇa's mind of that suspicion by telling him that Bharata must be coming there to take them back to Ayodhyā. But Lakṣmaṇa was not convinced. He had his own suspicion. This attitude of Lakṣmaṇa's mind is skilfully portrayed by the sculptor. While Rāma and Bharata are engaged in a heart-to-heart talk, Lakṣmaṇa is looking in the opposite direction. Indifference, if not positive hostility, is imprinted on his face.

This panel, the interpretation of which is quite certain, affords a key to the understanding of the other panels found near the *ās'rama*. They must plainly be related to some incident or other in the life of Rāma.

Figure II: This panel, 5'-3" by 3'-9" in size, shows four figures. The second figure from the left is that of a tall man who has held a child in his hands. His face is mutilated, but he was evidently looking intently at the child. Another person on the left is peeping from behind to have a look at the child. There is a third man to the right who has raised his right hand evidently to say something about the child. To the extreme right is a woman kneeling down, holding an oval-shaped vessel in both her hands. She had evidently brought the child in it and after handing it over to the prominent male figure, she has knelt down as a mark of respect to him.

This panel is evidently of the birth of Rāma. The prominent male figure is Das'aratha who has taken the baby in his hands and is looking affectionately at him. He is evidently overjoyed to see the child, for whom he had hoped and prayed for a long time[5]. The other male figures are probably his attendants.

Figure III: This panel, 3' by 3' in size, has five figures. In the centre is a man sitting on a bed in dejection, with the left hand resting on the bed and the right one placed on his bent right leg, he is supported from behind by a woman. There are three other figures to the left. They appear to be in a pensive mood.

This panel apparently depicts a scene in Kaikeyī's appartment when Das'aratha became shocked and completely unnerved by her insistance on his granting her the two boons previously promised. The king, being in a distressful mood is too weak to sustain himself. He is, therefore, supported by his wife Kaikeyī. Of the three persons on the left, the two in front may be the minister Siddhārtha and the family-priest Vasiṣṭha who had gone to meet Das'aratha early in the morning on the day of Rāma's *abhiṣeka*[6]. The person behind them may be the charioteer Sumantra, who, according to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, strongly remonstrated with Kaikeyī.

This scene recalls that of 'the Dying Princess' in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭa, which has received abundant praise from art-critics like Griffith[7]. As in the latter scene, the central figure here is stricken with grief and is supported by a person from behind. The scene is full of pathos.

5. Kālidāsa has described a similar scene in the following beautiful verse :
   तमङ्कमारोप्य शरीरयोगजैः सुखैर्निषिञ्चन्तमिवामृतं त्वचि ।
   उपान्तसंमीलितलोचनो नृपश्चिरात् सुतस्पर्शरसज्ञतां ययौ ॥ *Raghuvaṁs'a*, III, 26
6. *Rāmāyaṇa* II. 36, 18 ff. ; 37, 21 ff.
7. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III. p. 27

The Dying Das'aratha



Fig. III *(Courtesy of the Central Museum, Nagpur, C.P.*

Sumantra taking Rāma and others to the forest

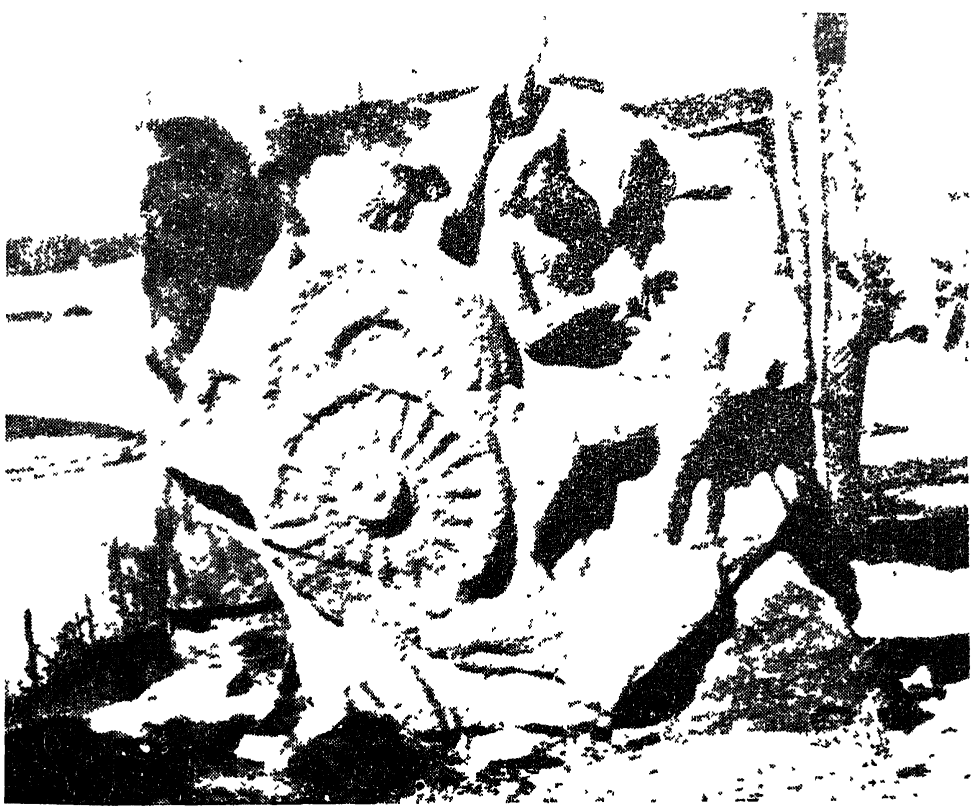


Fig IV *(Courtesy of the Central Museum, Nagpur, C.P.)*

Fight of Vāli and Sugrīva



Fig. V (*Courtesy of the Central Museum, Nagpur, C P*)

Rāma's justification of his shooting Vāli

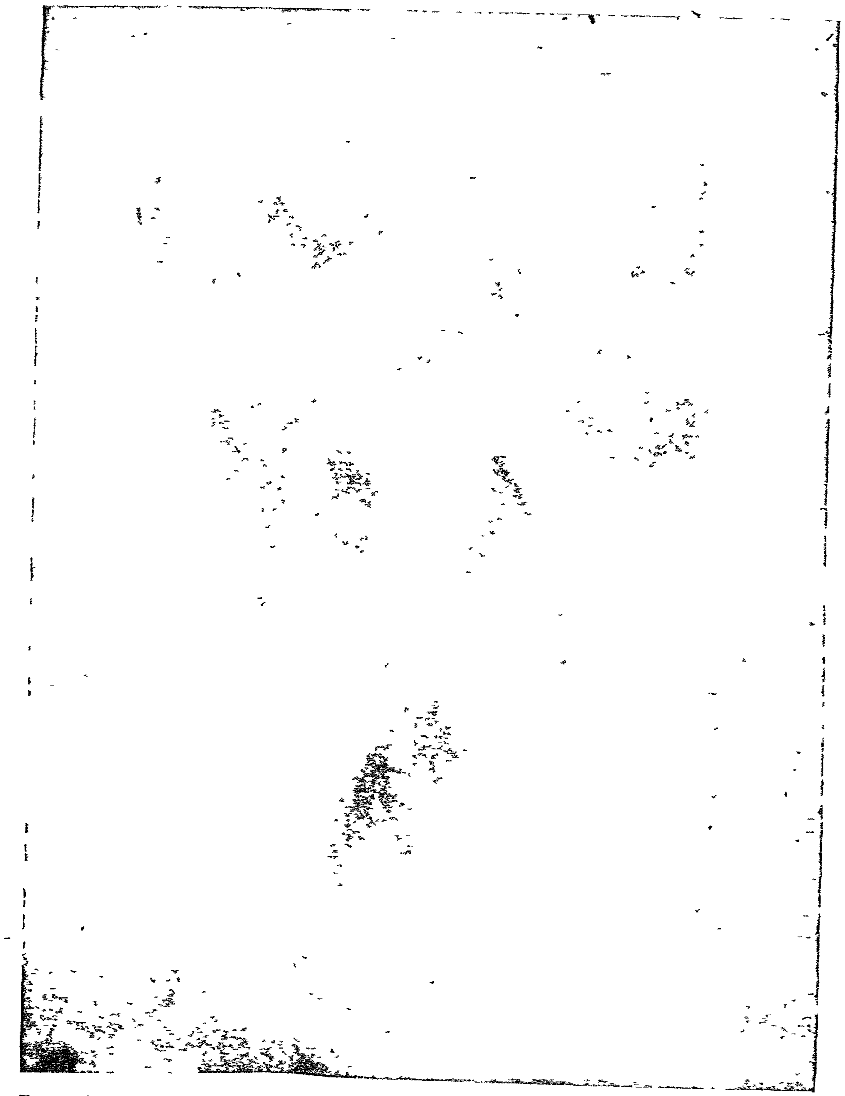


Fig VI (*Courtesy of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala, Poona*)

Figure IV : This panel, 3′-10″ by 3′-10″ in size, shows a two-wheeled chariot drawn by two horses. It has no top. The charioteer is sitting in front, holding the reins of the horses. Behind him there was a standing male figure, but its upper portion is now lost. There were apparently some more figures on the other side of the horses, but they are now very much mutilated.

As the figure in the chariot is now truncated, it is difficult to identify this panel. Perhaps it portrays Sumantra taking Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā to the forest. The standing figure may be Rāma, but there are no clear remnants of the other two occupants of the chariot. The coiffure of the charioteer indicates that the panel is probably of the Gupta age. The chariot resembles that sculptured in the small *vihāra* at Bhājā[8]. Specially noteworthy is the semicircular side of the *ratha-upastha* just above the wheel which is a marked feature of ancient chariots.

Figure V : This panel shows two persons locked in a combat. The person behind has encircled the neck of the opponent who is trying to loosen his grip. The former is also pressing his bent right knee against the buttocks of his opponent to throw him down. This is a well-known manœuvre in wrestling.

The panel may be of the fight of Vāli and Sugrīva. We read in the *Rāmāyaṇa* that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, in the course of their search for Sītā reached Kiṣkindhā. There they met Sugrīva, whose wife had been appropriated by Vāli. Being assured of Rāma's help Sugrīva challenged Vāli to a combat. The two are shown fighting here. The panel is marked by simplicity and vigour of action.

Figure VI : This panel, 4′-4″ by 2′-11″ in size, continues the story. The *Rāmāyaṇa* tells us that Sugrīva and Vāli fought for a while, but ultimately Vāli fell down, being hit by an arrow of Rāma who, together with Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān, had concealed himself behind some palm trees. When Vāli fell down, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān approached him. Vāli then rebuked Rāma for attacking him while he was engaged in fighting with another. He said[9] :

हत्वा वाणेन काकुत्स्थ मामिहानपराधिनम् ।
किं वक्ष्यसि सतां मध्ये कर्म कृत्वा जुगुप्सितम् ॥

* * * *

शठो नैकृतिकः क्षुद्रो मिथ्याप्रश्रितमानसः ।
कथं दशरथेन त्वं जातः पापो महात्मना ॥

'Having killed me, who am innocent, with an arrow, how will you justify

8. *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, IV, pl. VI, 1.
9. *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, 17, 35 ; 43 ; 18, 6-7, 18 ; 21.

this detestable act in the assembly of good people ? .... How were you, a wretched, vile and crafty hypocrite, born to that great soul Daśaratha ?'

To this rebuke Rāma gave the following reply :

इक्ष्वाकूणामियं भूमिः सशैलवनकानना ।
मृगपक्षिमनुष्याणां निग्रहानुग्रहेष्वपि ॥
तां पालयति धर्मात्मा भरतः सत्यवानृजुः ।
धर्मकामार्थतत्त्वज्ञो निग्रहानुग्रहे रतः ॥
*　*　*　*
तस्य धर्मकृतादेशा वयमन्ये च पार्थिवाः ।
चरामो वसुधां कृत्स्नां धर्मसंतानमिच्छवः ॥
*　*　*　*
तदेतत्कारणं पश्य यदर्थं त्वं मया हतः ।
भ्रातुर्वर्तसि भार्यायां त्यक्त्वा धर्मं सनातनम् ॥
न हि लोकविरुद्धस्य लोकवृत्तादपेयुषः ।
दण्डादन्यत्र पश्यामि निग्रहं हरियूथप ॥

'All this land belongs to the Ikṣvākus. Their is the right to punish or reward beasts, birds and men. The righteous, truthful and upright Bharata, who knows the principles of *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*, is now protecting this land. He metes out punishment or reward as may be deserved... ...In obedience to his commands, we and other rulers roam about on the whole earth, for the maintenance of the religious law. .... Hear from me why I have killed you. You have violated your brother's wife in utter disregard of the eternal law of moral conduct. I know of no other condign punishment which should be awarded to you who have acted so flagrantly in opposition to the established customs of the people.'

This scene is portrayed in the panel. It shows four figures. Vāli has fallen on the ground. With his right hand he is supporting his head which was reeling with the loss of blood caused by the wound. He is looking up to accost Rāma. The latter is seen in the *pratyālīḍha* posture, with the left knee bent and the right leg thrown backward. His left hand is placed on the forward thigh, while the right hand is holding something[10]. He wears a small ordinary necklace, and *udarabandha* and *kaṭibandha*. His body is gracefully modelled. He has a haughty demeanour as he flings back the accusations of Vāli, and justifies his own action. Lakṣmaṇa and Sugrīva are standing behind Rāma. The trees, from behind which Rāma shot his arrow, are shown by means of

10. The object is indistinct. It is taken by some to be a crocodile. Its presence in this panel is inexplicable.

11. Cf. रामगिरिस्वामिनः पादमूलात् in the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, *JASB.* XX, pp. 58ff.

the conventional large flowers in the upper right corner. They are of the same type as those in the well-known panel of *Ahilyoddhāra* (Redemption of Ahilyā) in the Gupta temple at Devagaḍh in Central India. This beautiful panel undoubtedly belongs to the Gupta age.

These panels show that there was a magnificent temple erected in the fourth century A. D. just at the place where Vinobaji's *āśrama* now stands at Pavnār, and that it was dedicated to Rāma. It was decorated with beautiful panels depicting scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which were probably built into the walls of the temple as in the case of the Gupta temple at Devagaḍh.

This temple may have been constructed at the instance of the Vākāṭaka dowager queen Prabhāvatīguptā, the daughter of the illustrious Gupta Emperor, Candragupta II–Vikramāditya. That she was a devotee of Rāma is already known from two copper-plate grants made by her. One of these made at the feet of the Lord of Rāmagiri (i.e. of Rāmacandra) on the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, evidently after observing a fast on the preceding Kārttika *ekādaśī*. As I have shown elsewhere[12], Rāmagiri is modern Rāmṭek near Nagpur. This place is mentioned in the world-famous lyric *Meghadūta* of the great Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa. The second grant of this queen, which, though discovered in distant Poona, belongs to the Hinganghat *tahsil* of the Wardha District[13] was also made on the same *tithi* at the feet of the Bhagavat who is none other than the god of Rāmagiri.

Prabhāvatīguptā who lost her husband Rudrasena II soon after her marriage, acted as Regent for her minor son Divākarasena for at least thirteen years as recorded in her aforementioned Poona plates. She was a lady of great piety, courage and statesmanship. Her second son Pravarasena II, who later ascended the throne, is credited with the authorship of the *Setubandha*, a Prakrit *kāvya* glorifying the deeds of Rāma. This work has been greatly praised by Sanskrit authors and rhetoricians. Pravarasena II describes himself as *parama-māheśvara* in his grants, and was a devotee of Śiva; but he composed this *kāvya* in glorification of Rāma evidently at the instance of his mother Prabhāvatīguptā. So long as the Vākāṭaka capital was at Nandivardhana, Prabhāvatīguptā could have the *darśana* of her *iṣṭa-devatā* (i.e. Rāma) at Rāmagiri which lay only about three miles from the capital; but when her son Pravarasena II founded the town Pravarapura and shifted the seat of his government there, she, having gone with him to reside at the new capital, must have felt there the need of a temple of Rāma. At her instance her son must have erected a magnificent temple dedicated to the god at Pravarapura.

12. *Ep. Ind.*, XXV. pp. 7ff.

13. *Ibid.*, *XXVI*, p. 159.

Vinobaji's *āśrama*, which is situated on an artificial mound and the area round which yielded the panels described above, probably marks the site of this temple.

Several temples dedicated to Hindu gods must have been erected in the age of the Vākāṭakas who were followers of the Pauranic religion. Some of these are known from references in the inscriptions of the dynasty, but no remains of any of them have yet been discovered. Sculptures of the Vākāṭaka age are, therefore, extremely rare. Besides, very few temples of the early period dedicated to Rāma are known. These circumstances invest these panels with great importance.

Pravarapura ceased to be a royal capital after the age of the Vākāṭakas, but it did not lose its importance altogether. This is shown by some other panels and sculptures of the mediaeval age discovered at Pavnār.

Figure VII : This sculpture, 5′ by 2′-6″ in size, was discovered in the course of digging in the village some years ago. It is carved out of a coarse-grained stone and shows standing Śiva, facing full front. The god's face is much worn out. He wears matted hair. Some hair is falling on both the shoulders. The halo round the head is broken on the left. The god has four hands. The upper right hand which held the *triśūla* is now broken, the lower part of the staff being still extant. The lower right hand holds the mace. The upper left hand holds a serpent which has coiled itself round the lower hand placed on the left thigh. The god wears a *yajñopavīta* and has armlets and a *kaṭibandha* of serpents. The image is of the early mediaeval period.

Fig. VIII : This is a huge panel, 5′ by 2′-6″ in size, of Śeṣaśāyin (Viṣṇu lying on the coils of the serpent Śeṣa), now deposited in a temple near the *āśrama*. Vishṇu's feet are being shampooed by his consort Lakṣmī. From the god's navel has sprung a lotus which has produced Brahmā. Viṣṇu is attended by several gods such as Indra, who is shown with his thunderbolt. The sculpture is rather crude and appears to be of a late period.

Fig. IX : This is a finely carved image of Viṣṇu found somewhere in the village, but now deposited in the Museum at Maganwāḍī in Wardha. The god has four hands in which he holds a conch, a discus, a mace and a rosary. He is attended by Lakṣmī on the left and by Garuḍa on the right. Viṣṇu's crown, necklaces, armlets, wristlets, anklets, the lower garment and the garland are exquisitely carved. Behind the god's head is a *prabhāvali* on which are carved his ten incarnations including Buddha. Among them Paraśurāma comes after Rāma, and Balarāma takes the place of Kṛiṣṇa. These ten incarnations as well as the exuberance of ornamentation clearly indicate that the image belongs to the late mediaeval period.

The discovery of these ancient images and panels at Pavnār clearly indicates that it was a flourishing town from the fourth to the tenth century

Image of Śiva



Fig. VII (Courtesy of the Archæological Survey of India, Central Circle, Patna)

Śeṣaśāyin—Viṣṇu

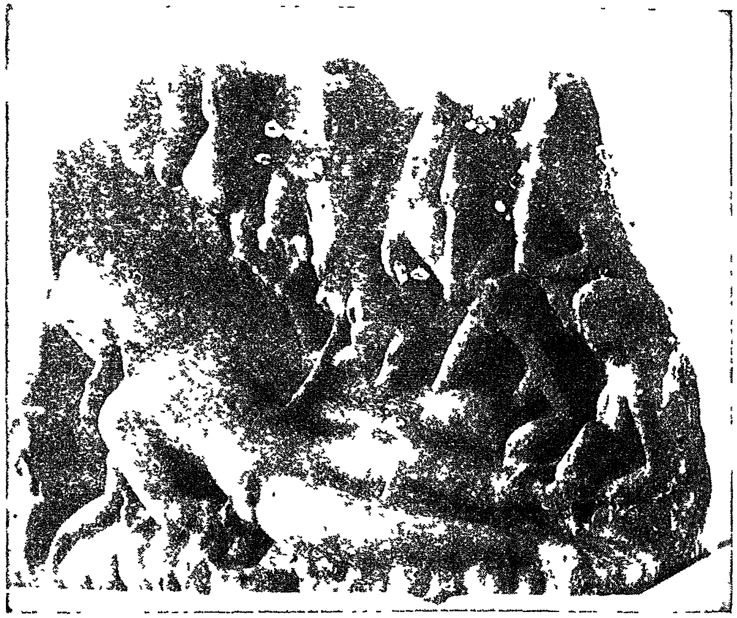


Fig. VIII

Image of Viṣṇu

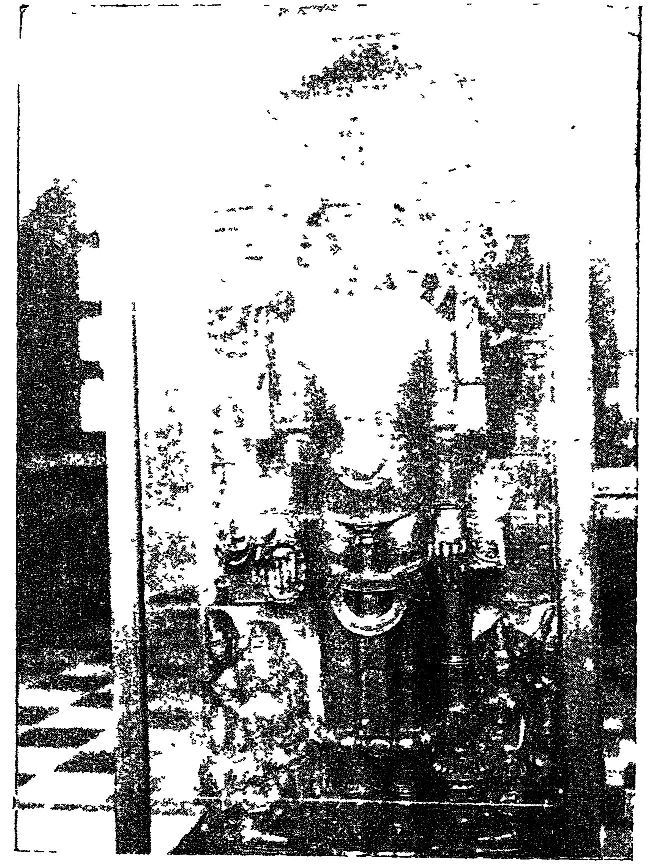


Fig. IX

(Courtesy of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala, Poona)

A. D. It is probably identical with Pravarapura, the capital founded by Pravarasena II, from which he issued several of his land grants. Pavnār is plainly a corrupt form of *Pravaranagara* which is but a synonym of Pravarapura. The ancient city which was once the flourishing capital of the great Vakāṭaka Empire must have extended over a large area. As a matter of fact, both the banks of the river Dham on which Vinobaji's *āśrama* is situated abound in large-size bricks of the ancient type. I am sure more definite evidence in favour of the identification proposed in this article would be forthcoming if excavations are carried out at selected sites at Pavnār. I, therefore, invite the attention of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India to this very promising site.

An Interesting Sūrya Sculpture from Koṇārka, Orissa

By

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, *New Delhi.*

The temple of Sūrya at Koṇārka, situated 20 miles north-east of Pūri in Orissa is appropriately hailed as the best specimen or the quintessence of the Kaliṅga type of temple architecture and as 'the grandest achievement of the Eastern School of Architecture'. Devotional architecture of the Orissan country which had its humble beginnings in the rock-cut Jaina caves of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri of the second century B.C. in Orissa found its fullest expression and development in the Sūrya temple of Koṇārka. Though in utter ruins today and in a desolate corner amidst drifting sands of the Orissan coast it stands like a ripe fruit matured in breathless air[1]. Solar worship in India which has been as old as the Vedas culminated in this stupendous structure at Koṇārka, which defying age and age-long neglect stands today as a mute witness to the great popularity of Sūrya in India.

Besides allegorical allusions in the Vedas to Sūrya's car (RV. IV,28; V,29), his seven horses (*Ibid.*, V,45), his wives S'araṇyu, Savarṇā and Uṣas (*Ibid.*, X, 17,1-2), his sons (Aśvins, Yama and Manu) and his seven rays (*Ibid.*, VIII,6), his energy more than his physical form is the object of devotion in the Vedic times. Gāyatrī or Sāvitrī, which is the most sacred hymn and the essence of the Vedas, which every *dvija* repeats during his *Sandhyāvandana* is addressed to Savitā who is Sūrya, for leading the intellects onwards (धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात्) In course of time, myths gathered around the Sūrya worship, developed and began to crystalize. According to tradition the Aryans in Scythia[2] are supposed to be the first worshippers of Sūrya. A special class of Sun-worshippers in the north called *Magas* are identified by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar with the Mitra-worshipping *Magi* of Iran[3]. Scholars arrived at this conclusion, on the basis of literary evidence, that a type of Solar cult was introduced into India from Eastern Iran at the beginning of the Christian era; certain peculiar non-Indian features of Sūrya icons were but regarded as its archaeological corroborations. The credit for introducing the worship of Sūrya in material or physical form goes, according to the *Purāṇas* to Sāṁba, son of S'rī Kṛṣṇa.

1. Ramachandran, T. N.: *A Nāṭyācārya from Koṇārka*, p. 135 (JOR., Madras, Vol. XVIII).

2. For details see below, fn. 13.

3. Bhandarkar, R. G.: *Vaiṣṇavism, S'aivism, etc.*, pp. 151-5.

Āditya Vivasvān
From Koṇārka, Orissa.
(*Middle 13th Century A.D.*)



(*Courtesy of the Archæological Survey of India, New Delhi*

Sāṁba is said to have been cured of leprosy by worshipping Sūrya and in gratitude to have raised an image of Sūrya of gold at Mūlasthāna (Multan). According to the *Varāha-Purāṇa* (ch. 177, p. 565), Sāṁba, when cured of leprosy, built 3 temples for Sūrya in India, one in Udayācala, another at Mathurā and a third at Sāṁbapura, representing the morning, midday and evening Sun respectively. Udayācala has been doubtfully identified by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali with Udayagiri near Bhuvaneśwara in Orissa[4]. *Arka-kṣetra* which is described in the *Kapila-Saṁhitā* as the original place of Sāṁba's penance, has been identified as 'the zone of the Sun in Orissa, which includes the locality of the temple of the Sun at Koṇārka'[5]. *Koṇa+arka* may be the equivalent of *Arka+kṣetra*. Sāṁbapura, which according to the *Bhaviṣyat-Purāṇa* (ch. 74) stood on river Chandrabhāgā is present Multan. Chandrabhāgā is modern river Chenab on which Multan stands. Chandrabhāgā being also the name of a streamlet on which Koṇārka stands easily lent its name, as Dr. Bhattasali proves, to the 'fake of the *Kapila-Saṁhitā* in making it out as the original place where Sāṁba established the image of the Sun-god'. The identity of Multan and Sāṁbapura is placed beyond doubt by Alberuni[6]. Yuan Chwang refers with admiration to a golden image of Sūrya worshipped in a temple at Multan[7].

Koṇārka appears to have been more the Udayācala of the *Varāha-Purāṇa* than Sāṁbapura. The local temple was built by a celebrated Eastern Gaṅga King called Lāṅgūla Narasiṁha or Narasiṁha I (1238-64 A. D.). The cosmic significance of the temple with every nook and corner richly decorated, seems to be that the visitor should be instructed ocularly in the whole doctrine of Brahmanical mythology, cosmology, iconography, the Muses, the arts, in short, in the whole *gamut* of everyday life. The temple consists of the *vimāna* or *S'rī-mandira*, *Jagamohana*, *Nāṭya-mandira* and a shrine for Māyā Devī (Mahīmayī Chāyā Devī) and is filled with a wealth of sculptured panels which if placed end to end would extend for miles. 'The sculptures bespeak a luxurious experience and open out an encyclopaedia of edifying legends told with moving eloquence and in the plastic language of a singularly chaste and refined diction, elaborated with rich and exquisite imagery. Incidentally, these 'speaking pictures' afford glimpses into the details of the life of the times. Humble dwellings, pompous palaces, court-scenes, assemblies

4. Bhattasali, N. K. · *Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in Dacca Museum*, p. 167.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

6. Vol. I, 298 'Multan was originally called Kās'yapapura, then Haṁsapura, then Bhagapura, then Sāṁbapura, and then Mūlasthāna, i.e. the original place'

7. This golden image of Sūrya appears to have weighed 230 maunds of gold. It was destroyed by Muhammad Bin Kasim.——Dowson and Elliot : *History of India by its own historians*, Vol I, p. 206.

of both the spiritual and the wordly-minded human beings, temples, conveyances, household articles and utensils, forest scenes, hunts, love-making both refined and otherwise, flora and fauna, everything in fact is here pictured in stone eloquently and in overwhelming profusion, yet with refined restraint. In contrast with the moving compositions of life in its variety, are the static images of a series of Sūryas, Dikpālas, Viṣṇu and semi-divine beings'[8].

One such sculpture of Sūrya forming the subject matter of this paper is interesting enough both for its *contents* and *intent*. Its contents are now being examined. A rectangular block of dark green chlorite 3′ X 1½′, is chiselled out in high relief. The image of Sūrya stands erect in *samabhaṅga* and has four hands. The upper hands are broken but when complete were apparently holding by the stalk, two lotus flowers which can be made out one on either side of Sūrya's head above the shoulders. The lower right hand holds a *triśūla*; its three prongs are in evidence. The lower left hand hangs down fully stretched with the palm exposed. A full-blown lotus marks the palm. The pose indicated by the lower hand is obviously *varada* or 'boon-conferring'. The feet from the toe to the knee cap are uncarved but their finished outlines would lend to the feet the appearance as if covered by leggings or boots. But they are not so in reality. The top of this uncarved portion is here ornamented near the knee cap and pointed outwards like a dog's tongue, while the toes are fashioned like the toes of shoes used in North or Upper India. The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira explains this trait while giving the description of Sūrya images (*Adhyāya* 57, vv. 46-8) :

नासाललाटजङ्घोरुगण्डवक्षांसि चोन्नतानि रवेः ।
कुर्यादुदीच्यवेषं गूढं पादादुरो यावत् ॥46॥
बिभ्राणस्स्वकररुहे बाहुभ्यां पङ्कजे मुकुटधारी ।
कुण्डलभूषितवदनः प्रलम्बहारो वियद्गवृत. ॥47॥
कमलोदरद्युतिमुखः कञ्चुकगुप्तः स्मितप्रसन्नमुखः ।
रत्नोज्ज्वलप्रभामण्डलश्च कर्तुश्शुभकरोऽर्कः ॥48॥

According to this text Sūrya images are to be shown dressed as a Northerner, with the lower part concealed (*gūḍha*) or covered from the toe upwards, and as wearing on the body a very long necklace, on his head a crown (*mukuṭa*) and around his waist a girdle called *viyaṅga*. Applying this text to our sculpture we may note that the feet are covered (*gūḍha*) in the manner that we have described already. The long necklace (*pralamba-hāra*) is appropriately combined, though fancifully with Sūrya's sacred *sūtra* producing the effect of a three stranded *yajñopavīta*. The waist girdle (*viyaṅga*) which is also present lends to the image iconographic importance. *Viyaṅga* which is also

8. *JOR.*, Madras, Vol. XVIII, p. 136. For details see Ramachandran, T. N. : *A Nāṭyācārya from Koṇārka*. p. 136.

called *viyadga*, or *avyaṅga* is identified with the *Aiwiyaonghana* of the Avesta language and as the sacred waist girdle of the Iranians[9]. It is shown here as an ornamental belt with hangings of tingling bells and tassels and loops.

A beaming smile characterises the face and ear-rings (*kuṇḍalas*) adorn the ears. Wristlets, armlets (*aṅgadas*), and necklets are shown in their appropriate places. A high crown of rubies (*padmarāga-kirīṭa*) adorns the head. The crown of rubies is referred to in *S'ilparatna*[10]. The attendants of Sūrya also receive appropriate representation. Daṇḍa and Piṅgala are shown in miniature form one on either side of Sūrya with sword and shield in their hands as described in the *S'ilparatna*[11]. They are both alike and Piṅgala does not conform to the general manner in which he is shown in Sūrya sculptures. He lacks here the beard, the pot-belly and the inkpot, so characteristic of him as we can make out from sculptures in Bengal and Orissa. The *S'ilparatna* text clearly admits that both Daṇḍa and Piṅgala were door-keepers and they are represented here exactly so. The chariot which Sūrya rides and Sūrya's charioteer, Aruṇa, as well as seven horses which are said to drag the chariot of Sūrya are appropriately represented below the feet of Sūrya in the order of Arúṇa seated above with the reins of the horses in his hands and the horses below in the alignment of three on either side of one central horse facing the spectator. The pairs of three horses are shown in profile. The idea of chariot and its wheels is just suggested. Over the head of Sūrya hover two Gandharvas one on either side blowing the conch and two Vidyādharas with garland in their hands. Below them stand four celestial women- two waving *cāmaras* while two others hold garlands. A metal image of Sūrya in the Madras Museum acquaints us with a similar arrangement of two women on either side of Sūrya[12] and Gopinath Rao takes the two women holding *cāmaras* in their hands for the wives of Sūrya named Rājñī and Nikṣubhā. As this identification seems plausible, we may take the two women holding *cāmaras* here for the two wives mentioned. The other two may be taken to be the two wives of Sūrya that the *Matsya-Purāṇa* associates Sūrya with. According to the *Matsya-Purāṇa* Sūrya has four wives named Rājñī, Savarṇā, Chāyā and Suvarccasā[13]. According to the verse quoted above the four wives of Sūrya, viz. Rājñī, Savarṇā, Chāyā

9. Monier Williams translates *avyaṅga* as the girdle of the *Maga* priests. Other forms are *viyaṅga* or *viyadga*, cf. Zend *aiwyaohana*.

10. माणिक्यकुण्डलोपेतः पद्मरागकिरीटकः । (II, 25, 139)

11. अनूरुः सारथिः कार्यः प्रतिहारौ च पार्श्वयोः ।
दण्ड-पिङ्गलनामानौ खड्गखेटक-धारिणौ ॥ (*loc. cit.*, 140, 141)

12. Rao, T. A. G. : *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, pl. LXXXVIII, fig. 1

13. राज्ञी सवर्णा छाया च तथा देवी सुवर्च्चसा ।

and Suvarccasā are in all probability represented here on the sides as the text clearly warrants. Another point in favour of their representing Sūrya's wives more than any celestial women is that they are not hovering in the sky but actually standing on *terra firma* like the male attendants Daṇḍa and Piṅgala shown below. For the interesting story of Sūrya and his consorts one may refer to the *Bhaviṣyat* and the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, among the *Purāṇas* and to the *Ṛgveda*, I, and *Atharvaveda*, IX. Suffice it for our purpose to say that all the consorts of Sūrya are represented here including Chāyā (Saṁjñā's shadow substitute) and Uṣas and Sandhyā. The two versions are that Sūrya had one wife only and another that he had three in number, *viz.* Uṣas, Dyau and Pṛthvī which stand for the Dawn, Firmament and the Earth. Uṣas stands by herself and rarely is Sandhyā (evening) added as a co-wife.

Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa has an interesting verse quoted below which not only acquaints us with the information that the story referred to in it occurred in *S'akadvīpa*[14] but also tells us that at the request of *S*ūrya, Viśvakarmā trimmed and dimmed him by putting him on the lathe (*bhramī*). This would mean that the upper part of Sūrya's body was peeled off leaving his legs untouched as we had occasion to see already. The story goes that when he was thus dimmed he was allowed to go to Uttarakuru and seek union with Sajñyā who having left him unable to bear his effulgence was roaming in the forest as a mare. The story further goes that *S*ūrya joined her in the form of horse and out of their union the Aśvins and Revanta were born. The other sons of Sūrya born to Sajñyā are Vaivasvata Manu, Yama and Yamī. Through Nikṣubhā he had S'ani, Sāvarṇī Manu and a daughter Tapatī born. From Uṣas who is said always to retain her youth, Sūrya had no issues.

The possession of a *Tris'ūla*[15] in the lower right hand of Sūrya makes the image one of singular importance for there are only four forms of Sūrya in which he is associated with a *s'ūla*. Three such forms occur in the Āditya classification. The Ādityas are 12 in number, each one of them presiding over a month of the year. The *Vis'vakarma-S'āstra* refers to 12 forms and alludes to three of them as holding *s'ūla*. They are Mitra, Bhaga, and Vivasvān. Bhaga, Mitra and Aryaman are identical with the Persian Mithra, Bhaga or Bhago and Airyaman. As Mitra holds two lotuses one in each hand, a *śūla*, in the upper left hand and a *soma* in the upper right hand, our sculpture does not represent him, as a *s'ūla* is actually held in the lower right hand and there

14. *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*, ch. 57-8, 106-8 :—

विश्वकर्मा त्वनुज्ञातः शकद्वीपे विवस्वतः ।
भ्रमीमारोप्य तत्तेजः शातनायोपचक्रमे ॥

15. The possession of Tris'ūla recalls to our mind Rudra and the S'ūlapāṇi and the Pinākapāṇi that S'iva was. And significantly enough the *dhyāna*, नमः सवित्रे brings out vividly the association or identity of Sūrya with S'iva or Rudra,

is no *Soma*[16]. It cannot represent Bhaga for there is no *cakra* in his upper left hand as the *Viśvakarma-S'āstra* describes. The third Āditya is Vivasvān who holds a *s'ūla* in the back right hand and an *akṣamālā* or rosary in the back left hand. The back right or back left in the text must be taken to correspond to the lower right and the lower left of our sculpture. Viewed thus our sculpture correctly holds the *śūla* and has stretched the lower left hand in position to suggest by the out-stretched nature of its fingers that the fingers were rolling the beads. In our sculpture the *akṣamālā* is not exactly shown but the hand is sufficiently suggestive, though normally in the absence of the *akṣamālā* it should be taken to present *varada* or 'boon conferring' *mudrā*.

While the identity of the figure as Āditya Vivasvān is apparent, it is difficult to get over another possible identification. In later times temples of Traipuruṣadeva are found dedicated to Sūrya, S'iva and Viṣṇu with much prominence given to Sūrya. The association of Sūrya with S'iva and Viṣṇu is on a par with that of the Trimūrti, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and S'iva. Every Indian *dvija* recites during his daily prayers the following *dhyāna*:

नमः सवित्रे जगदेकचक्षुषे
जगत्प्रसूतिस्थितिनाशहेतवे ।
त्रयीमयाय त्रिगुणात्मधारिणे
विरिञ्चिनारायणशङ्करात्मने ॥

'Salutations to Savitā (Savitā is also the 10th Āditya), the sole Eye of the world, the cause of the birth, preservation and destruction of the world, the embodiment of the trinity or the three Vedas, the bearer of the triguṇas (*satva, rajas and tamas*), the great being who is Viriñci, Nārāyana and S'aṅkara'.

From the above *dhyāna* the identity of Sūrya with S'iva is apparent. And even a casual look at the sculpture against the back-ground of this glorious *dhyāna* coupled with the wealth of Vedic and Purāṇic stories associated with the life of Sūrya, mark out the sculpture of Sūrya under description as a *chef-de-ovre* of Indian sculpture. While its iconographic contents are sufficient to arrest the scholar's attention, its *intent* is one of distinct popular appeal, capable of generating spontaneously *sahṛdayānanda* or spectacular gratification.

16 Rao, *op. cit*, Vol. I, pt 2, Appendix C, p. 86 :—
शृणु वत्स प्रवक्ष्यामि सूर्यभेदाँस्तु ते जय ।······
शूलं वामकरे चास्य दक्षिणे सोम एव च ।
मैत्री नाम त्रिनयना कुशेशयविभूषिता ॥
यस्या दक्षिणतश् शूलं वामहस्ते सुदर्शनः ।
भगमूर्त्तिः समाख्याता पद्महस्ता शुभा जय ॥
अथ वामकरे माला त्रिशूलं दक्षिणे स्मृतम् ।

The Correlation of Mahābhārata Comets with those of Vṛddhagarga[1]

By

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The Editors of the Critical Edition of the Bhīṣma Parva have rendered signal service by including, in the critical notes to chapters two and three, detailed references to the *Adbhutasāgara* of Ballālasenadeva and the *Atharva-Pariśiṣṭas* (Vol. II. p. 756). The *Adbhutasāgara* is a veritable treasure-trove of marvels of earth, air and sky. It contains copious extracts from and references to the works of illustrious Indian astronomers, viz. Bhṛgu, Devala, Atharvamuni, Garga, Parāśara, Vṛddha-Garga, Varāhamihira, and others, who lived prior to the twelfth century A.D. The general reader is apt to pass over these lists of omens and portents unless his attention is specially directed to their real significance and scientific accuracy. Whether they exert any influence on historical events or not, they are well worth a careful study for their own sake. Incidentally they serve as illustrations of the remarkable powers of observation and induction cultivated by our ancient astronomers, most of whom were members of families whose hereditary occupation had been the building up of the sciences of astronomy and astrology.

The various types of portents are mentioned in the appeal to Duryodhana by Bhīṣma and Droṇa after Kṛṣṇa's departure (Ud. 13). Similar sets of omens and portents occur in several places in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in the *Harivaṁśa*, and the Purāṇas. Brief references are contained in the *Atharva-Saṁhitā* (*Śānti-pāṭha*, XIX. 9.) and *Kauśika-Gṛhya-sūtra* (XIII. 93-136). In chapter 46 of the *Bṛh.* Varāhamihira classifies them under the following twelve broad heads and mentions their characteristics. He describes them in details in chs. XXX to XXXIX ; XI ; XLVI-XLVII :

I. Portents connected with idols and statues in temples etc., vv. 8-17. (cf. Bh. 2, 26 ; *Adb.* p. 170)

II. Portents through Fire, vv. 18-24. (cf. Bh. 3, 21, *Adb.* p. 193)

III. Portents connected with trees, vv. 25-32. (cf. Bh. 3, 37 ; *Adb.* p. 152)

1. The following Abbreviations have been used in this paper :

Adb. = *Adbhutasāgara*, compiled by Ballālasenadeva, ed. Murlidhara Jha, Benares, 1905.
Bh. = Bhīṣma-Parva.
Bṛh. = Bṛhat-Saṁhitā of Varāhamihira, ed. Sudhākara Dvivedī, Benares, 1895.
Ud. = Udyoga-Parva.
VG. = Vṛddha-Garga (as cited in *Adb.*)

IV. Portents connected with crops, vv. 33-37. (cf. Bh. 3, 10 ; *Adb.* p. 185)
V. Portents connected with rainfall, vv. 38-46. (cf. Bh. 3, 30 ; *Adb.* p. 153)
VI. Portents connected with water, vv. 47-51. (cf. Bh. 3, 32, *Adb.* p. 190)
VII. Portents connected with births, vv. 52-55. (cf. Bh. 3, 1-7 ; *Adb.* p. 185)
VIII. Portents connected with quadrupeds, vv. 56-59. (cf. Bh. 3, 1 ; *Adb.* p. 153)
IX. Portents connected with the wind, vv. 60-65. (of. Bh. 2, 27 ; *Adb.* p. 170)
X. Portents connected with animals and birds, vv. 67-73. (cf. Bh. 3, 40-41; *Adb.* p. 178)
XI. Portents connected with Indra's banner, bolt, etc., vv. 74-81. (cf. Bh. 3, 39 ; *Adb.* p 103).
XII. Miscellaneous portents : unusual or out of season, vv. 82-99. (cf. Bh. 2, 20-22. ; 3, 36 ; Ud. 141 ; *Adb.* pp. 186 ; 190).

The omens and portents tabulated above are mostly those that can be seen in the atmosphere or manifest themselves on terrestrial objects. The third variety of portents is termed cosmic and includes the grouping of planets, the appearance of comets, and the display and descent of meteors and shooting stars, and eclipses. The *Adbhuta-Brāhmaṇa* chapters of the *Ṣaḍviṁs'a-Brāhmaṇa* follow the classification described by Varāhamihira in ch. 32 of the *Bṛh.* under the caption : Earthquakes. They are divided into four maṇḍalas presided over by Vāyu, Agni, Indra and Varuṇa. Varāhamihira points out that atmospheric phenomena that are appropriate to the six seasons are not ominous at all unless they occur out of season :

ऋतुस्वभावजा ह्येते दृष्टाः स्वर्तौ शुभप्रदाः ।
ऋतोरन्यत्र चोत्पाता दृष्टाः ते चातिदारुणा ॥ (*Bṛh.* 46, 96)

Varāhamihira's definition of an *utpāta* is highly suggestive : anything contrary to Nature is a portent or *utpāta*, (प्रकृतेरन्यत्वम्=उत्पातः) 'any event that transcends common experience becomes an *utpāta*'. Comets that are visible to the naked eye, for weeks and months at a time are rare occurrences; the appearance of a comet is, therefore, an *utpāta*. Mock-sons, halos, cloud-bars, and auroral displays are frequent occurrences in the Arctic regions. If they are seen in the tropical latitudes of North India, they become *utpātas*. Though shooting stars are common, meteoric showers like those of 1833 are very rare. And yet our astronomers made a careful study of these events and their descriptions are quite accurate and stand the tests of modern astronomy. Perched on the heights of the Himālayas where the high altitudes compensated for the low latitude and reproduced for them the arctic conditions required for their formation, they made good use of the opportunities they had for witnessing these phenomena.

With the exception of biological abnormalities such as multiple births and unnatural matings, all the other phenomena enumerated above are atmospheric events. They can be shown to depend, directly or indirectly,

upon meteoric displays and fall of huge meteorites. Such displays usually mark the last stages of disintegration of the comet of which the meteoric swarm was an appendage. Almost every list of portents found in the *Mahābhārata* text makes prominent mention of the falls of meteoric clusters with explosive violence, that give rise to earth-tremors, tornados, dust-showers, and even upset the flow of rivers. The heat of the blast of hot air is so intense that the water in the wells near by are set boiling. (Cf. *Adb.* pp. 150, 170, 176, 178, 190).

A careful comparison of the portents mentioned by Bhṛgu, Parāśara and VG. as fore-runners of comets with those listed in *Bṛh.* and the *Mahābhārata*, will make it clear that more than one comet must have appeared at the time of the Bhārata War. The showers of meteors and meteorites must have been something abnormal and awe-inspiring.

We may assume that the portents described in the Ud. Bh. and Karṇa-Parvas were the heralds of the comets that are mentioned along with them. Karṇa informs Kṛṣṇa that the terrible comet afflicting Citrā foreboded the destruction of the Kuru king. We have no clue to its name. Vyāsa declares that the full-moon of Kārtika was enveloped in a crimson haze in a crimson sky. VG. names it Ūrmiketu (*Adb.* p. 181)–a nebulous haze without a distinct nucleus. In Bh. 3, 11-12, are mentioned two comets, one S'vetaketu and the other Dhūmaketu. The S'vetaketu was near Citrā and the Dhūmaketu in Puṣya, with a long tail (extending to Jyeṣṭhā according to the version of *Adb.* p. 196). In Bh. 3, 15 is mentioned a dark fiery comet in Jyeṣṭhā and verse 26 refers to a comet in Kṛttikās. I propose to identify them with the Kaliketu and the Ras'miketu of VG. (*Adb.* p. 177). Bh. 3, 16 ; 24 refer to two comets near Vasiṣṭha and Arundhati, shading them with their tails. Verse 16 tells us that it was a Dhruvaketu and VG. helps to identify the other as the Calaketu (*Adb.* p. 179). Bh. 3, 33-42 indicates two powerful comets by implication. I propose to identify them with the Dhūmaketu and Saṁvartaketu pair of VG. (*Adb.* p. 190).

The identification of the *Mahābhārata* comets with those mentioned by VG. is rendered possible and also probable by the minute description of their movements given by VG. The Gargas have been astronomers from times immemorial and the wealth of traditional material at the disposal of VG. must have been immense. He was the first to declare that comets resemble planets in possessing periodic revolutions in well-defined orbits. On the strength of the data available to him, he was able to trace the orbit of the comet through the constellations and generalise his observations. The naked-eye planets have generally long periods exceeding one hundred years. The Kapālaketu

appeared in B.C. 44 at the death of Julius Caesar. The dates of its known appearances are B.C. 1767, 1193, 618, 44; A.D. 531, 1106 and 1680 (*JBBRAS.*, XXIII, pp. 147-184). Most of the comets mentioned in *Adb.* have periods ranging from 110 to 120 years. The authors of the several versions of the Bhārata story must have either been eye-witnesses of the comets or have had recourse to the same sources of information as the astronomers themselves. It is this factor that justifies the attempt at identification of the Bhārata comets with those of *Adb.* Working on this assumption we are able to arrive at the same classification of the *Mahābhārata* versions as that based on independent planetary data.

Comets are beneficial or malicious according to their shape, colour, the quarter of the sky and the duration of their appearance. The *Adb.* divides the semi-circle of the ecliptic into fifteen parts and indicates that the distance of the comet from the sun measured along the ecliptic will be twelve divisions or 144 degrees or about eleven nakṣatras when it appears or when it disappears.

The *Mahābhārata* tells us that some of the meteors seen, rushed towards the sun if attacking it, while others sped away as though they were missiles ejected from the sun (Bh. 3, 33; Karṇa 37, 4).

Indian astronomers classify comets in a variety of ways. Bhṛgu divides them into six classes according to the Vasantādi seasons (Cāitrādi months) in which they rise and assigns them to the deities, Kubera, Vāyu, Varuṇa, Sūrya, Agni and Yama. Devala inter-relates his classification to the *Kūrma-vibhāga* system described by Varāhamihira in ch. XIV. of the *Bṛh.* V, 1. The number of comets studied by Devala were 108. Varāhamihira describes the classes in detail (ch. XI). Atharvamuni divides 535 comets into 21 classes. Garga's and Atharvamuni's classifications overlap.

Parās'ara follows VG. in dividing 101 comets into eleven classes and assigns them to Mṛtyu (16); Dvādas'ādityas (11); Rudra-krodha (10); Pitāmaha (6); Uddālaka (15); Prajāpati (5); Mārīci-kaśyapa (17); Vibhā-vasu (3); Amṛta (14): Brahma-kopa (1) [Brahma-daṇḍa of *Rāmāyaṇa* Yuddhakāṇḍa]; and the last one Dhumaketu to Antaka. Varāhamihira's treatment of VG. comets is fragmentary. We are to be thankful to the *Adb.* for having valuable descriptions of VG. According to Varāhamihira, Dhruvaketu is synonymous with Dhūmaketu. The Svadhiketu of VG. has as an alternative title, S'veta. VG's descriptions consist of two parts, viz. one describes the course of the comet among the constellations; the other enumerates the portents which, in a few cases, are peculiar to the comet. In each case the orbital period is mentioned; but the number of days during which it could be seen is not given. As the descriptions are understood to refer to several returns of the comet, the season of the year is left to be inferred from the context. Unless a giant planet interferes with it, the comet

retraces its orbit and is quite likely to pass through the specific nakṣatra either before, during or after its perihelion passage.

I have shown elsewhere (cf. *K. M. Munshi Jubilee Volume*, pp. 128-130 ff.) that the planetary groupings in the Bhārata text, properly analysed and co-ordinated, lead us to the conclusion that the current text is a conglomerate mixture of not less than seven separate accounts of the Bhārata War, each pre-supposing a different lunar month for the war events. The major planets appear to a terrestrial observer to describe a loop among the stars round about the date when the planet is in opposition to the sun. The planet is in opposition to the sun when it rises in the east at sunset, as the full-moon does. It is clear, therefore, that the nakṣatra through which the planet is in retrograde motion at opposition is also the naksatra of the nearest full-moon. The planet continues its retrograde motion for sometimes after opposition. Indian astronomers employ the term *vakra* to indicate the retrogade half of the loop and *anuvakra* to the return half of the loop. Mars spends about three months over the *vakra* half and two months over the return. It is evident that Mars begins its *vakra* motion six weeks prior to the full-moon in the nakṣatra of opposition and ends it six weeks later. The time spent for the return half is about three-fourths of that required or taken up by the planet for the *vakra* half. It is two months in the case of Mars. The corresponding intervals of time for Jupiter and Saturn are, for the *vakra* half 120 days and 145 days respectively; for the return-half, 90 days and 110 days respectively. The extent of *vakra* motion varies from ten to twenty degrees in the case of Mars; it is only 10 deg. for Jupiter and 6 deg. for Saturn. The total time spent in the loop is five months, once in every 26 months, for Mars; with Jupiter and Saturn it is seven months and nine months respectively every year. So it is Mars and not the other two that will enable us to fix the date of an event correct to a month; Jupiter and Saturn will help to fix the year, since Mars will be retrograde in the same nakṣatra once in every 79 years, but not so the others. Unless the three planets are in the same nakṣatra they cannot be simultaneously in opposition; but when the nakṣatras are suitably different they can be found at different stages of their loops of retrogression. Jupiter and Saturn will be found loitering in any given nakṣatra for the greater part of a year. The *Mahābhārata* rightly designates them: संवत्सरस्थायिनौ ग्रहौ (Bh. 3, 26). So we have to concentrate our attention on Mars. Mars is declared to have been retrograde or *vakra* in three different nakṣatras : in Jyeṣṭhā (Ud. 141), in Maghā (Bh. 3, 13) and in S'ravaṇa (Bh. 3, 17) respectively. In the first case, it has receded from Jyeṣṭhā into Anurādhā; in the second it has begun to retrograde in Maghā; in the third it has receded from S'ravaṇa into Abhijit, and has just commenced its return. The most probable dates for these events are the new-moon ending lunar Ās'āḍha, the full-moon of Māgha and the full-moon of Bhādrapada with a margin of two

weeks on either side. The date indicated by Bh. 2 is the new-moon ending lunar Kārtika, since there is the specific mention of the full-moon in the Kṛttikās as an event of the recent past. These four statements clearly belong to four independent versions. Curiously enough the nakṣatras assigned by VG. to his comets fit into this scheme and afford additional support to the dates.

I have designated the first three versions referred to above in terms of the nakṣatras of retrogression of Mars: the Kārtika full-moon gives its title to the fourth. They will be referred to as the Jyeṣṭhā Epos, the Maghā Epos, the S'ravaṇa Epos and the Kārtika Epos respectively. There are three references to a *saptagraha-yoga* (seven planets congregating together); one in Bh. 17, 2 near Maghā; another near Rohiṇī (Karṇa 37, 11. Roy.) the third in Revatī (18 Feb. 3102 B. C.) as postulated by the Siddhānta astronomers, and supported by the comets mentioned in Bh. 3, 15-26. Two other comets are mentioned in the Karṇa-Parva. A *vikaca-graha* is alluded to in the description of the fight between Arjuna and Māgadha Daṇḍadhara; a S'veta-graha (or *somasya putra*) that transited across the sun at sunset soon after Karṇa's death (Karṇa 18, 5; 94, 47). These comets and planet groups indicate three other versions of the Bhārata War. I have named them in order, the *Bhṛgu Epos*, the *Rohiṇī Epos;* and the *Equinox Epos.* The following table gives some B. C. dates on which the several planetary combinations could have actually been seen. The simultaneous appearance of comets has to be simply assumed, since no records at all are available for those remote dates.

B. C. YEARS ILLUSTRATING PLANETARY COMBINATIONS

Epos	Month	Aśvinādı	Longitudes in degrees VG.					Nakṣatra of
Epoch	Date	Kuja	Budha	Guru	S'ukra	S'ani	Comets	Comet
B. C. Equinox Caitra 3102	Caitra 2 0	347	318	376	396	339	Kali (1) Raśmi (2)	Jyeṣṭhā Kṛttikās
S'ravaṇa 2907	Āśvina 1 180	284	187	184	220	209	Dhruva (3) Cala (4)	Citrā Svāti
Maghā 2679	Phālguna 13 310	104	291	278	336	126	S'veta (5) Dhūma (6)	Citrā Puṣya
Bhṛgu 2588	Bhādrapada 1 133	145	150	145	111	149	Svadhi (7) Vikaca (8)	S'ravaṇa Pūrva
Kārtika 2449	Kārtika 243	197	30 256	57	233	43	Sastra (9) Urmi (10)	Svāti Kṛttikās
Jyeṣṭhā 2420	S'rāvaṇa 118	219	13 110	189	101	40	Kapāla (11)	Citrā
Rohiṇī 2389	Jyeṣṭha 62	61	30 49	63	86	57	Dhūma (12) Saṁvarta	Rohiṇī

VG. apply to those in the *Mahābhārata*. I shall reproduce only those verses that describe the path of the comet through the constellations. The verses relating to the portents have been already quoted.

Equinox EPOS : 1. *Kaliketu* and 2. *Ras'miketu*, they go together:

कलिकेतुर्यदा चैष पूर्वेणोदयते शिखी,
कृत्तिकास्वपि चाग्नेयः पश्चिमेन प्रदृश्यते ।
तावुभौ दर्शयित्वा गच्छतोऽस्तमनं सह ॥
ज्येष्ठामूलानुराधासु या वीथी संप्रकीर्तिता ।
तां वीथीं समुपारुह्य केतुः संक्रीडते भृशम् ॥
दक्षिणाभिनतां कृत्वा शिखां घोरां भयङ्करीम् ।
शूलाग्रसदृशीं तीक्ष्णां श्यावताम्रारुणप्रभाम् ॥
पूर्वेणोदयते चैष नक्षत्राण्युपधूपयन् ।
त्रिभागं नभसो गत्वा ततो गच्छत्यदर्शनम् ॥ (*Adb*. pp.176-177)

Bh. 3, 15 corresponds to Kalıketu ; 26 to Ras'miketu :

श्यामो ग्रहः प्रज्वलितः सधूमः सहपावकः ।
ऐन्द्रं तेजस्वि नक्षत्रं ज्येष्ठामाक्रम्य तिष्ठति ॥
कृत्तिकासु ग्रहस्तीव्रो नक्षत्रे प्रथमे ज्वलन् ।
वपूंष्यपहरन् भासधूमकेतुरिव स्थितः [cf. *Adb*. p. 189
[अधूम्रया तु शिखया दर्शनमायाति कृत्तिकासंस्थः रश्मिकेतुः]

The colour, shape and positıons correspond exactly. Kali is *s'yāma*. Look at the sky at sunset. By assumption the sun ıs in Revatī, Ras'miketu will be 30 deg. higher up. It is visible for two hours before it sets. An hour later Kali-ketu in Jyeṣṭhā rises ın the east and is visible all through the night, and its path can be easily noted.

S'ravaṇa EPOS : 3. *Dhruvaketu*, 4. *Calaketu*:

ध्रुवः प्रज्वलितो घोरमपसव्यं प्रवर्तते ।
चित्रास्वात्यन्तरे चैवाधिष्ठितः परुषो ग्रहः ॥
ग्रहौ ताम्रारुणशिखौ प्रज्वलन्ताविव स्थितौ ।
सप्तर्षीणां सदाराणां समवच्छाद्य वै प्रभाम् ॥ (Bh. 3, 15 ; 24)
ध्रुवकेतुरनियतगतिप्रमाणवर्णाकृतिर्भवति विष्वक् । (*Adb*. p. 192)

As its name implies, the comet travels towards the north pole via Ursa Major. The tail covers Zeta U.M. or Vasiṣṭha. It might have been an extra-solar comet, with a very long period. Any how it could be in the Saptarṣis along with *Calaketu*. They blazed together in the northern sky. According to VG. *Calaketu* is first sighted near the Kṛttikās in the west. It moves north brushing Brahmahṛdayam (Capella) on the way. Even as it moves the tail lengthens out rapidly ; by the time the comet has reached the

confines of the Saptarṣis (Ursa Major), six nakṣatras farther on, the tail brushes past them (upadhūpayet). The comet approaches the north pole, Dhruva and then begins to move south. Meanwhile the sun has been overtaking the comet; when the comet has moved down to Svāti or Arcturus, the conditions are favourable for a conjunction. The planet becomes invisible to the naked eye (astam upagacchati). The Sun should be in the Phālagunis two nakṣatras to the west. The lunar date would be the new-moon ending Bhādrapada. The S'ravaṇa Grouping of planets yields the same date. The extent of the visible sky is expressed as Nabhas and would be 180 deg. The comet's motion parallel ecliptic from Rohiṇī to Svāti was 11 nakṣatras or three-fourths of the sky. South to north it moved over 90 deg. or half the sky:

पश्चिमेनाङ्गुलिमात्रां शिखां परमदारुणाम् ।
दक्षिणाभिनतां कृत्वा चलकेतुः प्रदृश्यते ॥
यथायथा दर्शयति त्रिभागं नभसश्चरन् ।
तथातथा शिखा चास्य सुदीर्घात्युपजायते ॥
सुदीर्घां शूलसदृशीं शिखां कृत्वा सुदारुणाम् ।
धूपयेदथ नक्षत्रं ब्राह्मं पैतामहं शिखी ॥
धूपयेदथ नक्षत्रमेकं द्वे त्रीणि वा पुनः ।
स ब्रह्महृदयं स्पृष्ट्वा ध्रुवं सप्तर्षिभिः सह ॥
दिशं वैश्रवणाक्रान्तामेव विपरिवर्त्तते ।
स चार्धमेव नभसः परिक्रम्य प्रदक्षिणम् ॥
सप्तर्षिभिः प्रतिहतस्ततोऽस्तमुपगच्छति (*Adb*. p. 179).

The passage demonstrates how accurate VG. is, even in his details. Parāśara follows him; Varāhamihira differs slightly. His interpretation of Brāhma as referring to Abhijit is wrong in this context; it is too far away east from the orbit. The Brāhma nakṣatra of VG. is adjacent to Rohiṇī. The Yogatara was probably the erratic star Algol with its light changes. The Vanaparva informs us that Abhijit, the youngest sister of Rohiṇī, disappeared. So at the request of Skanda, prompted by Indra, Brahmā permitted his star to be replaced by the steady Kṛttikās, the foster mothers of Skanda (Vanaparva ch. 230). The celestial longitudes of Algol and Kṛttikās are almost equal.

Maghā EPOS. 5. *S'veta* in Citrā; 6. *Dhūma* in Puṣya. Bh. 3, 11-12. *Adb*. pp. 183-4.

Uddālaki S'veta-ketu is sighted at mid-night, for 7 days :

श्वेतः सप्त निशादृश्यः ततो गच्छत्यदर्शनम् ।......
निशार्धे दर्शनं चास्य......पूर्वेणोदयते चैषः ॥

The nakṣatra is not mentioned by VG. Assuming it to be Citrā, we find Puṣya to be the nakṣatra that culminates at mid-night The lunar month will be Pauṣa. It agrees with the Maghā Epos; Dhūmaketu, with an unrestricted scope of travel, will also fit in :

धूमकेतुर्महाघोरः पुष्यमाक्रम्य तारकम् ।
सेनयोरशिवं घोरं ज्येष्ठामाक्रम्य तिष्ठति ॥ (*Adb.* p. 196)

This reading endows the comet with a tail extending from Puṣya to Jyeṣṭhā or vice versa. It does not affect the month.

Bhṛgu EPOS. 7. *Svadhi* in S'ravaṇa, 8. *Vikaca* in Pūrva (Phālgunis). The *Mahābhārata* assigns no nakṣatra; by implication one of the comets should be located near Maghā to take the place of an errant planet or the moon, to make up the number *seven*. *Vikaca* serves the purpose (*Adb.* pp. 157 167). Svadhiketu afflicts Kurus (*Adb.* p. 187), rises in S'ravaṇa :

स्वधिः पूर्वेण दृश्यते वैष्णवं पदमाक्रम्य ।
त्रिभागं नभसो गत्वा अपसव्यं निवर्तते ॥

With the sun in the Phālgunis it is rightly sighted in S'ravaṇa, 11 nakṣatras away.

Kārtika EPOS. 9. *S'astra* in Svāti; 10. *Ūrmi* in Kṛttikās. Bh. *2* :

रूक्षया शिखयाऽत्यर्थं क्षतजार्द्रप्रकाशया ।
शस्त्रकेतुर्भवेत् प्राच्यां शस्त्रमृत्युकरो महान् ॥ (*Adb.* p. 171)

With the sun in Jyeṣṭhā, S'astraketu could appear in the east an hour or two before sunrise (vide Comet of A.D. 1618, *BBRAS*.):

ऊर्मिकेतुः प्रदृश्येत मध्ये चन्द्रमसोऽसितः ।
राहोर्दर्शनमास्थाय लोकं संमोहयन्निव ॥
शोभनं तस्य नक्षत्रे दर्शनं पौर्णमासिके ।
बालेन्दुसदृशीं सौम्यां शिखां दर्शयते शुभाम् ॥
सोमस्य सप्तमे भागे नाम्ना चन्द्रसखः शिखी ।
राहुमार्गमपावृत्य[2] निशाः सप्त प्रदृश्यते ॥
दर्शनञ्चास्य शंसन्ति विप्राः शास्त्रविशारदाः ।
स एव रूक्षः कुरुते दुर्भिक्षं व्याध्युपद्रवम् ॥

The description applies remarkably aptly to the full-moon of Kārtika :

चन्द्रोऽभूत् अग्निवर्णश्च पद्मवर्णनभस्तले ।
अलक्ष्यः प्रभया हीनः पौर्णमासीं च कार्तिकीम् ॥

2 राहुमार्गमपावृत्येति यस्मिन् कृत्तिकादिसप्तनक्षत्रात्मकमार्गे राहुस्तिष्ठति तन्मार्गमाश्रित्येत्यर्थः (*Adb.* p. 182).

Jyeṣṭhā EPOS. 11. *Kapāla-ketu* is terrible enough to justify Karṇa's fears :

कपालकेतुरूपेण कालो दर्शयते दिवि । (*Adb.* p. 173)

According to Parāśara and Varāhamihira, but not VG., it rises near a new-moom. It travels over ten nakṣatras and then disappears. Evidently it had passed the perihelion point long ago. A Dhūmaketu or Agniketu (*Adb.* p. 189) would serve equally well. The identification is difficult.

Rohinī EPOS 12. *Dhūmaketu* and 13. *Saṁvartaketu* occur together (*Adb.* pp. 190-191). VG's description of portents agrees closely with that in the *Mahābhārata* (Bh. 3, 33-42). In the *Mahābhārata* threre is no mention of these comets. The description compels us to infer their omission. One is an evening and the other a morning star.

The two remarkable discoveries that a comet resembles a planet in having an orbit of its own and that comets return to us at stated intervals were not only made but employed by our ancient Indian astronomers for classifying and cataloguing them in their brief, characteristic enigmatic sutra style. These facts about the periodicity of comets were unknown in Europe until Halley re-discovered them. VG. has gone a step further still and has attempted to describe twenty-six of them in their chronological sequence. The Chinese possess records of comets seen in China since 611 B. C. European enthusiasts have recently prepared comprehensive catalogues of comets observed in all parts of the world. I wish that one of our present day astronomers would kindly undertake the comparison and correlation of VG's comets with those catalogued by the Chinese and European astronomers and scholars. It was this feeling that prompted me to attempt, however imperfectly, the correlation of the *Mahābhārata* comets with those of VG. The available data are too meagre for making definite assertions. The study of comets is as old at least as the *Atharvaveda*. The Veda prescribes propitiatory and pacificatory rites for the occultation of the Saptarsis by comets and meteors and for the fall of meteorites at the site of their descent. I am sure that scholars better equipped for the purpose will undertake the task of correlating the classification of the *Mahābhārata* text indicated by astronomical data with those based on linguistic and cultural data. The repetitions of anecdotes and the several introductions to the story contained in the Ādi-Parva are pointers to the land of promise.

The Achievements of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III As Yuvarāja

By

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A much discussed verse (No. 23) in the Bagumra plates[1] formerly called Nausari by mistake, of Indra III issued on the day of his coronation in A. D. 915 reads as follows :

कृतगोवर्धनोद्धारं हेलोन्मूलितमेरुणा ।
उपेन्द्रम् इन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥

The translation of the verse offered by Dr. Bhandarkar reads : 'This Indrarāja (III) having uprooted Meru (Mahodaya ?) with ease, was not puffed up with pride at (his) defeating (king) Upendra who had saved Govardhana, just as the god Indra, who uprooted (Mount) Meru with ease, was not puffed up with pride at (his) vanquishing (the god) Upendra (Kṛṣṇa) who had uplifted the Govardhana mountain'. Two observations may be made. *First*, the doubtful identification of Meru with Mahodaya (Kanauj) follows a suggestion made by Kielhorn[2] and, as it happens, is altogether misleading in its character. *Secondly*, the translation of *Govardhanoddhāram* into 'who had saved *Govardhana*' is also unfortunate and is by no means warranted by the context which requires that Upendra's relation to Govardhana must be similar in character to that of Indra to Meru. In fact Bhandarkar makes a clean breast of his perplexity in the face of this verse in a note in which he says : 'There can hardly be a doubt that this verse is intended to yield two meanings, one mythological and the other historical. The first is clear, but the historical sense is by no means evident'.

The verse was discussed again by Surendranath Majumdar Sastri in 1922 in a paper 'On the identification of Meru uprooted by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III'[3]. He rightly rejected the suggestion that Meru was another name for Kanauj for which indeed there is no evidence, and proposed to identify Meru with the Bāṇa king Prabhu Meru, adding : 'The Bāṇas became, from that time, vassals or allies of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. And when Kṛṣṇa III (940-61 A.D.), the fourth king after Indra III, passed through what is now known as the Madras

1. Ed. by Bhandarkar, D. R., in EI. Vol. IX. pp. 24-41.
2. EI. Vol. VIIV. App. p. 16 n. 2.
3. *Proceedings, Second Oriental Conference*, Calcutta, pp. 339-41.

Presidency to conquer the Cōḷas and Pallavas, he was helped by Vikramāditya II, the great-grandson of Prabhu Meru defeated by Indra III'. This marked a decided advance in the interpretation of the verse though Majumdar Sastri worked with a defective Bāṇa genealogy and his statements regarding Kṛṣṇa III's invasion contain errors—both features on which we need not spend attention just now. But he too left the historical reference to Upendra and Govardhana unexplained, though he noticed that Govardhana is 'a province mentioned in several cave inscriptions'.

One thing is clear As the verse occurs in a grant issued on the day of Indra's coronation, the incidents it recounts must have taken place earlier during the period when Indra III was *Yuvarāja* under his grand-father Kṛṣṇa II. Again, the verse attributes two achievements to Indra, first, a conquest of Meru by the side of which the second achievement against Upendra gave him no great cause for elation, an idea sustained by the clear play on the names of Indra and Upendra and of Meru and Govardhana, a large and small mountain. In effect the verse says that the overthrow of Upendra who had lifted Govardhana was not much of a job for Indra who had easily uprooted Meru.

Let us take up the second event first for consideration for it is simpler and may be disposed of briefly. Upendra is beyond doubt the founder of the Paramāra line of Mālava The earliest records of the Paramāras, the Harasola grants[4], show clearly that they were the feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and Amoghavarṣa I and his son Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇa II are specifically mentioned as the suzerains. In the closing years of Kṛṣṇa II, he was engaged in wars with Parāntaka I Cōḷa which ended in the disastrous defeat of the battle of Vallāla some time in A. D. 910[5]. When Kṛṣṇa II was thus preoccupied with the southern campaign, Upendra Paramāra who was establishing himself in Mālava made a bid for independence, and invading Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions from the north reached as far as Govardhana in the Nasik district. Indra III who was then *Yuvarāja* met the invader, inflicted a defeat on him and compelled him to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as before.

To turn now to the achievement against Meru. At the time of Kṛṣṇa II's invasion of the south which ended in the disaster of Vallāla c. 910-12, the Bāṇas cooperated with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and paid dearly for it by being deprived of their kingdom by Parāntaka I who bestowed it on his ally Ganga Pṛthvīpati II together with the title Bāṇādhirāja[6]. The Bāṇa princes who suffered on the occasion were Vikramāditya II and Vijayāditya III, neither of whom had a Meru title. These princes, however were apparently feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas,

4. *Proceedings, Madras Oriental Conference* (1924), 393-8.

5. EI. XXVI. pp. 112-4.

6. Cōḷas I, pp. 150-51.

and this position they must have got into as the continued result of the earlier achievement of Indra 'who easily uprooted Meru'. Now the two immediate predecessors of Vikramāditya II on the Bāṇa throne had Meru titles, his father Vijayāditya II (c. 895-910) being Prabhumeru and his grand-father Vikramāditya I (c. 872-95) being Jayameru[7]. Considering that Kṛṣṇa II came to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa throne only in A. D. 880, we may suppose that Indra's career as *Yuvarāja* started only some years later, say about 890; if that was so Indra's opponent might have been either Vikramāditya I or Vijayāditya II. Let us see if we gain any further light on this question from elsewhere. An inscription from Kāppalle (Chittoor Dt.)[8] states that while Jayameruprabhu was ruling over Vaḍugavaḷi 12,000 and Ganga 600, a certain Mahārāja raided the village of Chemmagūru for cattle-lifting and records a gift of land to the memory of a warrior who fell in the fight. Two other undated records[9] from the same place of the reign of Kannaradeva (Rāṣṭrakūṭa) also mention an attack made by him on Chemmagūru (Semmagūru) and relate the death of two warriors in the fight. All the three records, one Bāṇa and two Rāṣṭrakūṭa, doubtless refer to the same war in which Çhemmagūru suffered a raid. It seems also likely that another inscription[10] of the time of Vaidumba Pallo-arasa, a son of Manuja Triṇetra[11] whose dates were contemporary with those of Kṛṣṇa II, also refers to incidents in the same struggle, mentioning an attack on Kāppalle itself. We have thus clear evidence of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa expedition against the Bāṇas and Vaidumbas, perhaps at the close of the reign of Vikramāditya I Jayameru, and it may be inferred that Indra III had a prominent part in the subjugation of these rulers and that the alliance between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas on the one hand and the Bāṇas and Vaidumbas on the other, dates from about A. D. 890-5, and thus goes back to a time much earlier than has been thought possible so far.

The objections put forward against this obvious reconstruction in the Report for South Indian Epigraphy for 1933-4[12] do not stand scrutiny. For one thing, the writer of the report affirms as a clinching argument. 'Besides, we do not know of any Rāṣṭrakūṭa occupation of the Bāṇa territory during the time of Kṛṣṇa II'. To believe that we know already everything about anything and that there is nothing new to learn is hardly conducive to a proper assessment of the fresh evidence that is coming up every day. The positive considerations urged are two, *viz.* (1) the alphabet of Kannara's records appears to be later

7. Dates from Sewell—HISI.
8. 164 of 1933-4.
9. 168 and 170 of 1933-4.
10. 165 of 1933-4.
11. 328 of 1922.
12. Part II, para 8.

than that of the epigraph of Bāṇa Vidyādhara and (2) the sculptor-engraver of one of his records (No. 166) was Vikramāditya Bahuguṇateja of Koyātūr who seems to be the same as the one mentioned in No. 219 of 1931-32 of the time of Kṛṣṇa III (A. D. 940-68). Now, paleography can hardly be decisive for short periods, and in this case the difference is abont 45 years between Jayameru and Kṛṣṇa III; and in any event, the engravers of the Bāṇa and Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions must have been different and the difference noticed may be just due to this. Mr. Venkataramayya of the Epigraphist's office who has examined the records and to whom this paper owes much finds no difficulty in assigning the records to Kṛṣṇa II. Again we do not know how the engravers styled themselves and the names involved in this case appear to have been titles which might have been hereditary; but even if for argument we concede the identity of the engraver of the records, it is not impossible that the same man lived on from the time of Kṛṣṇa II to that of his later namesake.

The date suggested for the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion of the Bāṇa country led by Indra III as *Yuvarāja* gains confirmation from another quarter. It is well known that the Nolambas started a petty state in and around Hemāvati in the Tumkur district about the beginning of the eighth century A. D. and continued to hold it for many generations as the subordinates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gangas. Mahendrādhirāja Nolamba was one of the ablest rulers of the line under whom Nolamba sway spread over a considerable part of Gangavāḍi. We find this ruler already in occupation of Tagaḍūr (Dharmapurī) in the Salem district in S'. 800 (A. D. 878)[13], and fifteen years later he claims to be ruling the earth after destroying the race of Mahābali : *S'rī Mahābalikula-vidhvaṁsanam geyudyu pṛthūvī-rājyam geyuttire*[14]. Thus before 913 (S'. 815), the date of the inscription recording the fact, the Bāṇas had been destroyed by Mahendrādhirāja, an expression which recalls in every way the phrase *helonmūlitameruṇā* of the Bagumra verse. Obviously Mahendra took part in this enterprise as the feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the date of his record mentioning his share in the war is noteworthy as confirming the argument put forward here.

To sum up the results of this enquiry :

(1) Some time about A. D. 890 95 there was a Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion of Bāṇa and Vaidumba territory, and Indra III played a prominent part in it and succeeded in overthrowing the Bāṇa ruler Vikramāditya Jayameru and reducing him to subjection. (2) Later about 910-2, when Kṛṣṇa II was engaged in war

13. 348 of 1901, SII VII. 580, EI. X. p. 63.

14. EI. X. p. 65 ; II 24-6 (304 of 1901),

with the Cōḷa Parāntaka I, the Paramāra Upendra sought to declare his independence of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and invaded the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire from the north and advanced up to Govardhana; Indra III met him in battle, repulsed the inroad and restored the *status quo.* These two achievements are commemorated in the verse cited above from the Bagumra plates.

younger was Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita, who was a contemporary of Basava. Fables and stories of miracles have gathered thickly round these. It is asserted that Revaṇa is the same or was reborn as Reṇuka; Dāruka was the same as Maruḷa. The *Devāṅga-Purāṇa*[2] mentions one Ekōrāma was the son of Devadāsa, the seventh incarnation of Devāṅga, and converted Bijjaḷa's queen from Jainism to S'aivism. One Ekānlāda Rāma figures prominently in the Abbalūr inscription of c. 1180-90 as the contemporary of Bijjaḷa[3], Someśvara IV of Kalyāṇi and Kadamba Kāmadeva and, therefore, cannot be the one mentioned by S'rīpati half a century earlier. Moreover, S'rīpati places Ekorāmākhya Siddha in Dvāpara age.

Maruḷa Siddha also must be placed earlier than S'rīpati (c. 1120 A.D.). S'rīpati says that Maruḷa was initiated with ṣaḍ-liṅgas by Revaṇa himself. Vṛṣabha Paṇḍitārādhya in his commentary on the *Mahā-Nārāyaṇa* (Anuvāka) says that Revaṇa, Maruḷa Siddha and Ekōrāma had written commentaries on the Upaniṣads and Vedānta-Sūtras from the S'akti-Vis'iṣṭādvaita view point and that Paṇḍitārādhya wrote a bhāṣya on the *Vedānta-Sūtra-Vṛtti* of Agastya. Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita is not credited with the authorship of any bhāṣya. Viśves'vara of the Goḷakīmaṭha in the thirteenth century is sometimes identified with Viśvārādhya. Sometimes only four ācāryas Revaṇa, Maruḷa Siddha, Ekorāma and Paṇḍitārādhya are mentioned. Even Sampādaneya Parvateśvara of 1698 A. D. in his *Caturācārya-Purāṇa*[4] deals only with four ācāryas, probably representing an old tradition.

Thus we can distinguish several stages. Before 1120 A. D. Revaṇa, Maruḷa Siddha and Ekorāma were famous. Then four ācāryas including Paṇḍitārādhya were acknowledged. Finally during the time of Basava (c. 1190. A. D.) an attempt was made to recast the old traditions so as to centre round Bijjaḷa and Basava ; Revaṇa became Reṇuka, Dāruka and Maruḷa were equated.

The Kannaḍa work *Maruḷa-siddha-kāvya* of Deva kavi[5] in the *Ṣaṭpadi-metre* was composed in S'. 1509, Sarvajit, Vaiśākha S'uddha 15, Thursday, corresponding to 11th May, Thursday, 1587 A. D. He professes to follow the 'Gurubodha' of Gaddige Rāmatande. Cikka Rācayya in his *Mahā Devi Akkana Ragale* says that Revaṇa initiated Maruḷa who initiated Mahādevi Akka. The *Vacanas* of Ādayya (No. 39 and 40) refer to Maruḷa Siddha as if the latter was his teacher. The *Vacanas* of Siddha Rāma (No. 459) refer to 68000 vacanas of Maruḷa Siddha. All these were contemporaries of Basava

2. R. Narasiṁhachar: *Karṇāṭaka-kavi-charitra*, I.
3. S. S'rīkaṇṭha Sastri · *Sources of Karṇāṭaka History*, V.
4. *Karnāṭaka-kavi-charitra*, II
5. Ed. A. N. Krishṇa Rao, no date

and, therefore, this Maruḷa was an older contemporary of Basava and different from the one mentioned in the Bhāṣya of S'rīpati. Maruḷa was a common name in Karṇāṭaka at least from the tenth century and the Ganga Būtuga II had a son Maruḷa who married the daughter of the Rāṣtrakūṭa emperor Kṛṣṇa III, and is mentioned as a great patron of Jainism by Ranna in his *Ajitanātha Purāṇa*. The Nātha Pantha was also powerful in Kolhapur *at this time and* both Revaṇa (or Reṇuka) and Maruḷa are said to have overcome Gorakṣanātha there and converted him. A *vacana* attributed to Gorakṣa[6] is addressed to *Gorakṣa Pālaka mahāprabhu Siddha Somanātha linga*. Reṇuka is said to have S'ānta Mallikārjuna linga according to *Svāyambhuvāgama* but in the *vacanas* of Maruḷa the deity is S'uddha Siddha Prasiddha, Prabhu S'ānta Cenna Mallikārjuna and in his *Kandas* merely *Parama Prabhu*[7].

Devakavi's work is concerned only with the miracles performed by Maruḷa and says nothing about his literary activities. Maruḷa is said to have spent six thousand years before receiving initiation from Revaṇa Siddha at Cinmūlagiri (Chitradurga). He met Siddha Rāma at Sonnatapura and Ekorāma at Mudanūr. He is said to have encountered Bijjaḷa of Anegondi (?), Gaṇapati of Warangal, Noṇamba Cakreśa, Basḷa of Halebiḍu and a Pallava Arasa, and is to have died at the beginning of Kali at Ujjini. All the places associated with the miracles of Maruḷa Siddha are found in the Bellary and Chitradurga districts. Ujjini is in the Kūḍligi taluk of Bellary district. Betūr, Kuraḍi, Anagōḍu, Asagōḍu etc., are found near Davaṇagere. All these were included in the dominions of the Uccangi Pāṇḍyas who were the feudatories of the Western Cālukyas, throughout this region are found early types of Cālukya temples with interesting features. There are two Uccangis, one on the border of Davaṇagere with a formidable hill fort—the capital of the Uccangi Pāṇḍyas and another in the Moḷakālmuṟu tāluk. Another capital was Bemmatanūr or Chitradurga but the oldest capital (Haḷeya Biḍu) seems to have been Beḷturu or Betūr, three miles from Davaṇagere. Beḷturu naleviḍu and Haḷeya Biḍu Dāvaṇagere are mentioned in the inscriptions of Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya who was ruling Noḷambavāḍi and Aggada 1000, in Ch. V. year 46, Plava and year 48 S'obhakṛt. In Noḷambavāḍi there were the following sub-divisions; Kadambaḷige 1000, Kogaḷi 500, Ballakunde 100, Sūḷidekera 70, Bikkiga 70 with Arasiyakere, Maṇḍḷi 1000, Sūḷegere 70, Attigeri 12, Belturu 12, Pallava rāya Paḍevīḍu, Arahaḷa, 12, Jagaḷavura 70, Haḍuvagere 500 with its capital Bemmacanūr and Coḷangal 70 with Niduguruti.

6. *Karṇāṭaka-kavi-charitra*, II.

7. *Ibid*.

Pāṇḍyas of Uccangi[8]

Mangayya, Āditya Deva
|
Teja Rāya Pāṇḍya

- Teji Rāja
  - Palamāṇḍa (c.1075)
    - Irukka Vela (Tribhuvana Malla Pāṇḍya. 1101-1124)
      - daughter (m. Vikrama VI) (Tribhuvanamalla)
      - Rāya Pāṇḍya m. Sovalā daughter of Bāttava Rāya- (Younger sister of Vikrama)
        - Paṇḍita
          - Tailapa
        - Vīra Jagadekamalla (1143-49) m. (1) Gangā, dog Ādityadaṇḍanātha. (2) Vijayā Devi younger sister of Vikrama.
        - Vijaya
          - Kāmadeva (1161-87)
            - Ādityadeva
              - Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya c. 1180
        - Palatta [Palamāṇḍa] (c.1160)
          - Poṇḍi
            - Rāya
              - Noḷemba Kāma
                - Son 1190,1210
- Irukka Pāla (c. 1020)
  - Mahādevi m Hoysaḷa Ereyanga (c. 1080)

Maruḷa Siddha according to the Kannaḍa work is nowhere mentioned as meeting Basava. On the other hand he is said to have visited Orugal in the

8. *Irukka vela Tribhuvanamalla I Pāṇḍya* : A. D. 1079 C. V 4. *SII*. 9. 1 nos. 141; 149. —Tri° Rāya Pāṇḍya (?). Dg. 131. 1101 A.D ; Dg 121-1101; *SII* 9. 1, 167-1102 A.D; *SII*. 9. 1, 174-1104; Dg. 128-1108; Dg. 34-1110; Jl. 9-1111 A. D ; *SII*. 9. 1, 186-1111; 187-1112 A. D; Dg. 150, 149. *SII*. 4. 1, 189-1113 A. D ; *SII*. 9. 1; 191 (1)-1115; 200-1121; 201, 202, 203. 206-1122; 211, 215-1126 A.D.

Rāya Pāṇḍya (II). Dg. 2, Dg. 77, Dg. 122-1125 A. D. *SII*. 9. 1, 206-1122 A. D.

Paṇḍita Pāṇḍya. Dg. 41-1148.

Vīra Pāṇḍya-Jagadeka. Dg. 4, 168, 88, 86; *SII*. 9. 1, 238-1142, 242-1143. 245-1146, 247-1147, 248 no date, 254-1144-48, 251-1148, 255-1148, 257-1150, 258-1153, 261 no date; 267-1160; 293-1162 under Bijjaḷa.

Vijaya Pāṇḍya, Dg 84, Dg. 5-1168, 39, 32, 6, Cd 36, 13. *SII*. 9. 1. 254-1178 AD.

Kāmadeva, *SII*. 9. 1, 292 no date; Abdalur Ins c. 1187.

Vikramāditya, *SII*. 9. 1, 2. 1169; Tribhuvanamalla II, 1188-90.

time of Gaṇapati (1199-1260 A.D.). Bijjala (?) the ruler of Ānagoḍu must have been later than the famous Bijjala whose latest date is 1166 A.D. Therefore the Hoysala ruler Ballāla may have been Ballāla II (1178-1220) or Narasiṁha also called Ballāla, whose subordinate was Rāya Daṇḍanātha in 1222 A.D. (*SII* IX, I, 339) and the latter's subordinate ruling Uccangi 30 was Asagoḍu Pallava sāmanta (probably the same Asagoḍu and Pallava arasa mentioned in the *Maruḷa-Siddha-Kāvya*). The date of Maruḷa Siddha may, therefore, be determind as between 1160 and 1229. A. D. and he is certainly different from the one mentioned by S'rīpati Paṇḍita in 1120 A.D.

Beḷturu or Betur was the original capital of Noḷambavāḍi. It was an important *agrahāra* where the Mīmāṁsakas were performing sacrifices. It is close to Ānekoṇḍa a suburb of Dāvaṇagere and the inscriptions at these places mention the following temples and Kāḷāmukha S'aiva ascetics :—

Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍyes'vara—Vidyā S'iva Paṇḍita or Rāmāṇḍadeva
Rāja Baṇṇirāḷva Vāsudeva—Shri Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa Tirumale.
Nambi, ch. Saṁ. yr. 48.

Dharmes'vara	}	Brahma S'iva ; Mallikārjuna
Tri°. Pāṇḍyeśvara	}	Guru ; Rudra S'akti.
Jagateśvara		Lokābharaṇa Paṇḍita
Somes'vara established by Sovala Devi.		
Avimuktes'vara at Hiriya Betur	—	S'ivakalyāṇa Nambi.
Mūlasthāna Makādeva at Beḷturu	—	S'āntirās'i.
Sarpes'vara	—	Nīlakaṇṭha Paṇḍita.
Ṭumbeśvara and Duṇḍeśvara	—	... S'akti.
Jaina Temple Lakṣmī Jinālaya	—	Padmasena Bhaṭṭāraka.

Down to the 13th century there is not a single inscription mentioning Liṅgāyatas but only Kāḷāmukha Pāśupatas, Jainas and Brāhmaṇas. Even at Ujjini there is no inscription of this period mentioning Maruḷa Siddha. In S'. 1115, Paridhāvi, Āśvīja the Kadamba Jagaddala Pāṇḍya gave a grant to the god Kalideva of the place. The *Maruḷa-Siddha-Kāvya* (ch. VI) says that Maruḷa Siddha resided at Beḷturu, Kuruḍi, Ānagoḍu, Asagoḍu, Ballūru, Kumbaḷūru. At Ānagoḍu the temple is of the 11th century and a 19th century inscription mentions a Taraḷabāḷa Siddhappa (*MAR.* 1939, p. 179). Ānagoḍu is said to have obtained its name from an elephant-tusk (Āne-Roḍu) plucked off by the Siddha. But the so-called Siddhes'vara temple there, is of the 11th century and contains in its three cells the Liṅga, Viṣṇu and Sūrya. It is interesting to note that S'rī Vaiṣṇavas are mentioned already in these inscriptions of the 12th century—when S'rī Rāmānuja was actively propagating his tenets in the Mysore territory as far as Tirupati. An inscription of Jagadekamalla II (*SII* IX, 1, 251) of 1148 A. D. says that when Vīra Pāṇḍya of Uccangi was ruling his *mahāpradhāna* Vatsa Camūpa of Kammekula S'rī Vaiṣṇavajana, Kadamba Nāci Deva of Koṭṭūr 12 in Kogali 500 and

Vatsarasa in Beṇṇeganūr belonging to Muttige 30 gave a grant to a Kāḷāmukha ascetic Candra Rāśi of Siṁha Pariṣe Abhinava Pāśupata maṭha Pañcaliṅgācārya of Hūli. The inscription mentions Basavaṇa Bhaṭṭa of S'rīvatsa gotra. I have referred already to Tirumala Nambi Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa in 1124 A. D. (ch. Saṁ. year 48, S'obhakṛt, uttarāyaṇa Saṁkrānti) the worshipper of Vāsudeva in the reign of Rāyara Pāṇḍya. Even before Rāmānujācārya's entry into Mysore we have evidence of S'rī Vaiṣṇavas in the Coḷa inscriptions on the eastern border of Mysore but the name Tirumala Nambi shows perhaps a connection with Tirupati.

Ānekoṇḍa[9] near Dāvaṇagere and Betur must have been an important place in the time of Maruḷa Siddha. Gold coins of Uccangi Pāṇḍyas (or Durgi pagodas or Gajapativarāhas according to Dr. M. H. Kṛṣṇa) are occasionally found here. The old Trikūṭācala Cālukyan temple here has a peculiar plan with three cells and open porch to the east. Rice and R. Narasiṁhācār assign it to after 1100 A. D., but Dr. Kṛṣṇa to latter half of the 11th century. It must have been one of the temples mentioned in the inscriptions near it but there is no reference to the date of the original temple. The sculptor is mentioned in two short inscriptions: '*Svasti S'rīmatu Abhinava hasta veḍagam Rūvāri Bācojana putra*' and '*S'rīmatu Bācojanaputra Bāmoja Sarasvatīgaṇa dāsi*' (*MAR*, 1945, p. 110; No. 6). An inscription of Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya residing at Beluṛuvina Nelevīḍu in Noḷambavāḍi mentions that on Thursday, 16th December, 1126 A. D. Malayāḷa Vaḍḍavyavahāri Nambiyaṇṇa Seṭṭi built a temple at Duggati and the inscription was engraved by Sarasvatigaṇa chātra Malliyaṇṇa[10]. Probably the Ānekoṇḍa temple was erected at about the same time in the time of Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya in about 1117 A.D. when Viṣṇuvardhana built the Belur temple. But no inscriptions of Viṣṇuvardhana are found near this place. The Cāḷukya and Uccangi Pāṇḍya rule was acknowledged. The Ānekoṇḍa temple surpasses even the Belur and Haḷebīḍ temples in the central pillars of the *navaraṅga*—indented square-shaped (Brahma kānta), octagonal (Viṣṇukānta), sixteen or thirty-two sided (Rudra kānta ?); the eight-pointed star, the thirty-two-pointed stars with large alternate angles and eight-petalled lotus type not seen anywhere else. On one of ceiling jambs there is a figure of an ascetic—probably the Kāḷāmukha Sthānācārya.

9. *MAR*, 1932, pp. 54-56; 1945, p. 110., *EC*. XI, Introduction.

10. *SII*. IX, I; no. 215.

Chāhamāna Central Administration
(c. 1000–1300 A.D.)

By

DASHARATHA SHARMA, *Delhi*.

We have no books like the Kauṭilīya *Arthas'āstra*, *S'ukranītisāra* and the *Āini-i-Akbarī* dealing specifically or even in general with the administration and administrative problems of the Chāhamāna kingdoms and their neighbours. Consequently we have to glean the necesssary details from Chāhamāna inscriptions and literary sources like the *Kharataragacchapaṭṭāvalī*, the drama *Lalita-vigraharāja*, the *Kānhaḍadeprabandha* and the *Lekhapaddhati*[1], all of them good enough in their own way no doubt, but none of them sufficient to give us the complete picture that we should like to have.

The ruler:

In the Chāhamāna dominions as elsewhere in the Indian kingdoms of the period, the ruler formed the keystone of the administrative arch. Legally he was an absolute monarch, the head of the civil as well as military administration, with his powers circumscribed indeed by the will of the overlord, if he had any. Poets and scholars described him as divine, sometimes even identifying with either Viṣṇu or one of his famous *avatāras*. The Siwālik Pillar inscription (Saṁ. 1220) hints at Vigraharāja IV's identity with Viṣṇu[2]; the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* calls him an *aṁs'a*[3] of *Madhudviṣa*[4]. To the writer of the Hānsī inscription (Saṁ. 1226), Pṛthvīrāja II is undoubtedly Rāma[5]; the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* gives the same hononr to his cousin, Pṛthvīrāja III[6]. Both, *Naiṇsī's Khyāt* and the *Kānhaḍadeprabandha*[7], regard Kānhaḍadeva of Jālor as an *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa or Gokulanātha, and his enemy, Alāuddīn, is to them some

1. The *Paddhati* deals in the main with the institutions of the empire of Gujarāt which included at times the Chauhān kingdoms of Nāḍol and Jālor and was almost throughout in relations of enmity or friendship with the Chāhamāna empire of S'ākambharī. Its data, of course, have to be used with caution.

2. शङ्का वा पुरुषोत्तमस्य भवतः नास्त्येव वारांनिधे-
निर्मथ्यापहृतश्रियः किमु भवान् क्रोडे न निद्रायितः । (2nd inscription, v. 2)

3. VI, 33. अंश = a secondary incarnation.

4. 'Enemy of मधु' a name of Viṣṇu.

5. पृथ्वीराजो महाराजो रामोऽसौ संशयं विना ।

6. I, 33; VI, 35 and 47; VII, 5; VIII, 10; IX, 32 ; 33 etc,

7. *Kānhaḍadeprabandha*, III, 215-220 and IV, 219-220,

demon reborn to avenge his previous discomfitures. A natural corollary of such suppositions, that on their death the rulers got merged into the divinities they represented, was also not unknown[8].

But this ascription of divine character to the rulers did not mean that they were to rule arbitrarily. They were divine, because their conduct was just the reverse of this ; they were *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, because they upheld the established moral and social order and fought against its enemies. Vigraharāja IV tried to turn northern India into a real Āryāvarta[9] ; he could not tolerate any insult to Indian sacred places, gods and Brāhmaṇas[10]. Similar was also the role played by the other rulers regarded as divine in some way or other. They were divine because of their divine function. When one overstepped *dharma*, Indian writers consigned the ruler to hell, in spite of his royalty[11].

Another check on the autocratic tendencies of a ruler was supplied by the established usage that a ruler should consult his ministers on all important matters of policy, internal as well as external. The *Lalita-vigraharāja* shows Vigraharāja IV taking counsel with the *mantrin*, S'rīdhara and the *senāpati* (?) Siṁhabala, before proceeding against Hammīra. Pṛthvīrāja III's decisions were influenced by Kadambavāsa ; Kānhaḍadeva's were mostly those of the King-in-Council[12].

A third check, that of local usage and local government, also operated as strongly in Rājasthān as in other parts of India. 'The self-governing groups', as remarked by Dr. R. K. Mookerji, 'upon which the State was founded formed a vast subterranean democracy limiting the absolutism of the sovereign at the top'[13].

When a ruler overrode any of these salutary checks, as was for instance done by Hammīra towards the end of his reign, there was serious disaffection. Jagaddeva, the parricide, could not rule long, because his heinous crime had shocked the public. On the other hand, Kānhaḍadeva retained to the last the affections of his people, on account of his being one with them in their prejudices as well as aspirations.

8. Cf *PV.*, VIII, 77-8; *Kānhaḍadeprabandha*, IV, 293.

9. Cf. his Delhi Siwālik Inscription, stanza 1.

10. Cf. *Lalita-vigraharāja*, pl. II, line 29.

11. Cf. for instance :

तेषामेकतमं मध्ये नापश्यत् पितृवैरिणम् ।
क्वचिदप्यन्धतामिस्रे मग्नं व्रीडावशादिव ॥ (*PV.*, VIII, 74)

12. *Kānhaḍadeprabandha*, I, 32; III, 131; IV, 55 etc.

13. *Chandragupta Maurya*, 1st. ed. p. 84.

Early rulers of S'ākambharī called themselves *bhūpas*, *nṛpas*, and *mahārājas*[14]. But from the time of Pṛthvīrāja I onwards, they are styled **परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर**, which new title reflects a great increase in their power. Pṛthvīrāja III had the additional title, *Bhārates'vara*, because he aspired to the overlordship of the whole of northern India[15]. Bālaṇadeva of Raṇthambhor was a mere *gaḍhapati*, i.e. the owner of a fort[16], and Hammīra, though described as a *digvijayin* by Nayacandra Sūri, did not claim any title higher than *nṛpa*[17], rather a non-commital appellation used also by the Chauhān rulers of Dholpur and Rāyabaddiya. Bhartṛvaḍḍha II of Broach must have been a little higher in the feudal scale. He was a **परममाहेश्वर-समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द-महासामन्ताधिपति**, i.e. a feudatory chief of the first order entitled to the five *mahās'abdas*[18]. The highest title of the rulers of Nāḍol and Jālor was *mahārājādhirāja*[19]. Indrarāja of Pratāpagarh was a mere *mahāsāmanta*, and Saṅgrāmasiṁha of Broach a *mahāmaṇḍales'vara*, even though he claimed to be independent of the Yādavas of Devagiri as well as the Chalukyas of Gujarāt, because his immediate predecessors, probably, had recognised the Parmāras of Malwa as their overlords.

The Yuvarāja and other members of the royal family:

Next in importance to the ruler stood the *Yuvarāja*. He was mostly but not always the king's eldest son[20]. Many Chauhān inscriptions combine the name of the *Yuvarāja* with that of the ruler, showing thereby the high estimation in which the public held the heir-apparent's office[21]. *Yuvarāja* Kelhaṇa shared with his father the privilege of granting and confirming *jāgirs*[22]. Kānhaḍadeva, though merely a *Yuvarāja* up to Saṁ. 1262, so far overshadowed his father in ability and influence, that even the achievements

14. Cf. the Harṣa inscription of Saṁ. 1030.

15. *PV*, XI, 8.

16. Cf. Manglānā inscription, IA. 1912, pp. 85-88.

17. Cf. Balvan inscription as well as the *Hammīramahākāvya*.

18. Cf. above the account of the Chauhāns of Bhṛgukaccha in the writer's *Early Chauhān Dynasties*.

19. Kelhaṇa is once called also *Mahārājādhirāja-parames'vara* (Jhāmvrā inscription, *JASB*., 196, pp. 103-4). But he does not have the Imperial title, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* even in this record.

20. Hammira, for instance, was not the eldest son of Jaitrasiṁha. In the neighbouring kingdom of Chandrāvatī, Prahlādana was the *Yuvarāja*, even though his brother Dhārāvarṣa had a son named Somasiṁha.

21. Cf. for instance, the Sevāḍi stone-inscription of As'varāja, the Sevāḍi inscription of Kaṭudeva and the Jālor inscription of Sāmantasiṁha (*EI*, XI, pp. 29, 31 and 61 respectively).

22. Cf. the Naḍol plates of Rājaputra Kīrtipāla (*EI*. IX, pp. 66f.)

of his father's reign are by later generations[23] ascribed to him. If the ruler considered himself unfit or was, for any reason, disinclined to carry on the work of government, he could abdicate in favour of the *Yuvarāja*. Ajayarāja of S'ākambharī, for instance, retired to the Puṣkara forest after putting Arṇorāja on the throne[24]. The motive might have been to have on the throne someone energetic enough to deal with the increasing frequency and ferocity of Ghaznavite raids. Jaitrasiṁha of Raṇthaṁbhor, similarly, went away to hermitage on the Chambal. An incurable disease, perhaps leprosy, rendered the abdication necessary.

The inscriptions of Āśārāja and Kelhaṇa show their younger sons taking an important part in administration[25]. But it is difficult to generalise from these particular instances. And equally difficult it is to speak of the power wielded by the Chauhān queens in general. Some of them were influential enough. Ajayarāja's queen, Somalladevī, had coins of her own[26]. Chandana's queen, Rudrāṇī, too was a person of some consequence[27]. But mostly we hear of queens only in connection with donations and charities or *jauhar* fires.

Regents :

Minor kings had not any great chance in that turbulent age. Generally they were passed over in favour of someone better qualified to rule. But in a few cases there were regencies. Jojalla, the *rājyacintaka*, a maternal uncle of Jojalla, may have been a regent[28]. Vāgbhaṭa, the younger brother of Prahlādana of Raṇthaṃbhor, supervised the kingdom for his nephew, Vīranārāyaṇa, during his minority[29]. The administration of the regent, Karpūradevī, won the deserved encomium of Jayānaka[30].

The royal court :

A splendid court generally surrounded the ruler. On being divested of its exaggerations and verbosity, the contemporary account of Pṛthvīrāja III's court in the *Kharataragacchapaṭṭāvalī* shows that it was mainly composed of ministers, *mahāmaṇḍales'varas*, *sāmantas*, warriors of well recognised merit, paṇḍitas, poets, bards, musicians and courtezans[31]. The Hall of Audience was paved with stone of high quality, strewn with fragrant flowers, and overspread by a rich canopy of blue cloth with pendants ending in strings of pearls. Here the ruler took counsel on public matters; and

23. Cf. the writer's *Early Chauhān Dynasties.*

24. *Ibid.* 25. *Ibid.* 26. *Ibid.* 27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.* 29. *Ibid.* 30. p. 28.

31. *Lalita-vigraharāja*, line 32 of the inscription, *IA.* XX, pp. 201 ff, *PV.*, XI, 6-7.

here were judged not merely the claims of ordinary litigants but also of religious and literary disputants, the ruler in the latter case being largely guided by the advice of his court *paṇḍitas* and poets. The entrance to it was regulated by *pratihāras*; and everyone, whatever his caste or religion, could have access to the ruler[32].

Ministry :

In his transaction of the business of the State, the ruler naturally had to seek the assistance of a number of ministers whose number and importance might have differed according to the size of the State and the ruler they advised. On the basis of available evidence, we have the following list of Chauhān ministers.

1. *Mahāmantrin or Mahāmātya.* The *Mahāmantrin* was in charge of the royal seals, exercised general supervision over all departments specially revenue, and generally was the most trusted and influential member of the Ministry[33]. Of Vigraharāja's *Mahāmantrins* we know two. S'rīdhara and Rājaputra Sallaksaṇapāla[34]. Pṛthvīrāja III's Chief Adviser, Kadambavāsa, held also the title *Maṇḍales'vara*, which fact indicates perhaps the assignment of some territories to him either by way of salary or to support his dignity[35]. Of the *Mahāmātyas* of Nāḍol, Lakṣmīdhara held

32. Another good description of a Chauhān ruler's *darbār* is to be found in Padmanābha's *Kānhaḍadeprabandha*, which in spite of the comparative lateness of its composition, appears in this case to have given a true picture of the Jālor court. Perhaps the successors of Kānhaḍadeva, at the court of one of whom Padmanābha flourished, kept up their old state, in spite of the decline of their power.

The description is as follows .—

शतभूमिका सहस्रभूमिका सभानी रचना सिंहासन परठु छइ । मेघवना उलेच बांध्या छइ । परिचयचिढाली छइ । महाराजाधिराज कान्हडदे सभा पूरी बइठु छइ । केतकी ना गन्ध गहगहिया छइ । सोरभ ना सोडश्रावर्या छइ । सभा मांइ सेरी मेल्हाणी छइ । जाइ, वेल, वाउ, कन्द, मचकन्द, दमणु, मरुउ, पाडल ना परिमल पंचवर्ण पुष्पजातिना प्रकर पाथर्या छइ । गुलालना गन्धराज गहिगहया छइ । पच्यां कपुर पगि चांपीय छइ । घोड़ा विहालइ घाला छइ । तत वितत आनद्ध, घन शुषिर पंचशब्द वाजित्र बाजइ छइ । पंचवर्ण छत्र धारियां छइ । चामर व्यजन विहु पासिहुइ छइ । अमात्यमण्डल, प्रधान, सामन्त, माण्डलिक, श्रीगरणा, वयगरणा, मुकुटवर्द्धन, श्रङ्गलेह, मसाहणी, टावरी, वारहीया एवं वधि पुरुषि बइठु छइ । (Kānhadadeprabandha, Bhaṭaute, paris'iṣṭa ब)

33. The chief departments were S'rīkaraṇa, *Vayakaraṇa*, *Mandapikā-karaṇa*, and *Koṣṭhikā* (Cf. the *Lekhapaddhati*, *GOS*. for further details).

34. Cf. respectively the *Lalita-vigraharāja-nāṭaka* and the Siwālik Pillar inscription of Saṁ. 1220.

35. Or it may be that he was a *Maṇḍales'vara* in his own right as a hereditary ruler of certain territories.

the post in Saṁ. 1218 in the reign of Ālhaṇa, and Bālhaṇa in Saṁ. 1249, in Kelhaṇa's reign. Yaśovīra and Jaita devaḍā are names famous in the history of Jālor; and the career of the notorious Dharmasiṁha of Raṇthaṁbhor shows that the Chief Minister, though a creature of his master's will, could by his policy and cunning encompass the ruin of a State[36].

2. *Senāpati or Daṇḍanāyaka.* Next in importance to the Chief Minister was the *Senāpati* or *Daṇḍanāyaka*. We have already mentioned Vigraharāja IV's Commander-in-Chief, Siṁhabala[37]. During Pṛthvīrāja III's minority, the post was perhaps held by Bhuvanaikamalla Chedi[38]. Later on perhaps the *Senāpati* was Skanda[39].

Directly under the *Senāpati* were *Sādhanikas* and *Dussādhyas* or *Dussādhasādhanikas* or cavalry commanders[39] and *balādhipas* or officers in charge of the military stationed in outposts and towns[40]. The whole of military adminstration was controlled by a department, the *balādhikaraṇa*, stationed at the capital and supervised not only perhaps by the *Senāpati* alone but also by the ruler[40].

3. *Sāndhivigrahika.* Literally the word means a Minister for Peace and War. But discharging this, his chief function, he drafted also important royal charters and despatches[41]. Sāndhivigrahika Khelāditya is mentioned in the Kirāḍū inscription of Ālhaṇa[42] and Ojhā Grant[43].

36. Cf. the writer's *Early Chauhān Dynasties*.

37. *Ibid.*

38. Cf. *PV*. IX, 86-88.

39. Mentioned as *Daṇḍanāyaka* and *Senādhipati* in the *Viruddhavidhividhvaṁsa* of Lakṣmīdhara. The word Sādhanika is the same as modern Sāhnī. For *Dussādhya* and *Dussādhasādhanika* see respectively the Harṣa inscription (Saṁ. 1030) and the Sevāḍi plates of Ratnapāla.

40. Cf. Kaṭukarāja's inscription (*EI*. XI, pp. 30 ff.) and Jhāṁvrā inscription of Mahārāja-putra Gajasiṁha (*JPASB*. XII, pp. 102 f.)

41. This is the role assigned to him also by *Mitākṣarā* on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, I, 319·—

सन्धिविग्रहकारी तु भवेद्यस्तस्य लेखकः ।
स्वयं राज्ञा समादिष्टस्स लिखेद् राजशासनम् ॥

Generally good scholars were appointed to this post. Vis'vanātha, the writer of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, for instance, was a *Sāndhivigrahika*. The *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* mentions a good grammarian as a *Sāndhivigrahika* of Vigraharāja IV. The great Bengali scholar Bhavadeva and his grandfather, Ādideva, similarly were *Sāndhivigrahikas*. Much earlier than these we find Hariṣeṇa, the composer of the Allahabad *pras'asti* of Samudragupta as a *Sāndhivigrahika*, a fact proving that the appointment of very good scholars as *Sāndhivigrahikas* has all along been a well-established tradition of ancient Indian history.

42. *EI*. XII, pp. 44 ff.

43. The Grant is yet unpublished.

4. *Minister in charge of Poets and Paṇḍitas.* The *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* mentions one Padmanābha as a Minister whose duty consisted in calling conferences of learned people and who was also in charge of their reception.[44] This new post, a unique one in Indian history, might have been created in the reign of the *kavibāndhava* Vigraharāja IV.

5. *Paurāṇika.* Under Hammīra of Raṇthaṁbhor we find also an *amātya* called *Paurāṇika*[45], who like the *Purohita* of an earlier period might mainly have been in charge of religious affairs. We do not know the designation given to this officer in our other Chauhān kingdoms.

The ministry's function was largely advisory; the last word always lay with the king. Vigraharāja IV, for instance, rejects the advice of S'rīdhara and Arṇorāja that of his old and experienced ministers. But during emergencies, the ministers could and did exercise a good deal of authority. When Pṛthvīrāja III died without leaving any son, the ministers brought over Someśvara from Gujarāt and put him on the throne of Ajmer. On his death, they made the widowed queen, Karpūradevī, the regent for her minor son, Pṛthvīrāja III, and helped her to administer successfully the affairs of the kingdom, in spite of hostile neighbours on almost every side[46].

Other Central Officials :

The other central officials mentioned in the Chauhān inscriptions are :—

1. *Dūtaka.* He conveyed the ruler's sanction of a charter to local officials who then had the charter drawn up and delivered[47].

2. *Purohita and Vyāsa.* Either a *Purohita* or a *Vyāsa* generally was a ruler's adviser in religious matters. Hammīra's *Purohita* was one Viśvarūpa[48]. At Jālor, Somacandra Vyāsa occupied almost the position of a minister[49].

3. *Pratihāra.* The *Pratihāra* (literally a door-keeper) regulated the peoples' entrance to the king's presence[50].

4. *Bhāṇḍāgārika.* A *Bhaṇḍāgārika* had during our period come to occupy almost the position of the Kauṭilīya *Sannidhātā*. Hammīra's

44. *PV.*, XII, 58.

45. *EI.* XIX, p. 52, line 29 of the inscription.

46. Cf. her account in the *PV.*

47. Cf. *CII*, III, p. 100, footnote 3.

48. *Hammīramahākāvya*, IX, 76

49. Cf. the *Kānhaḍadeprabandha.* In almost every emergency, specially in those having the slightest religious tinge, Somacandra Vyāsa is mentioned as Kānhaḍadeva's chief adviser.

50. Mentioned in the *PV* as well as the *Lalitavigraharāja-nāṭaka.*

Bhāṇḍāgārika, Jahaḍa, was in charge of provisions as well as Hammīra's treasure[51].

5. *Khaḍgagrāha*. A *Khaḍgagrāha* was perhaps a body-guard of an *Antarvaṁs'ika*, the officer in charge of the Royal Household. Hammīra's natural brother, Bhoja, was a *khaḍgagrāha*[52].

Chauhān inscriptions mention also the usual *chāṭa-bhāṭas* (regular and irregular soldiers) and the *ratha-hastyādi-niyogins* (servants employed for elephants and chariots etc.)[53]. Accounts were maintained by an officer called *Bahikādhikṛta*[54]; and though the name *Akṣapaṭalika* (a head-keeper of accounts) is absent from the Chauhān records available to us, his presence in Chauhān dominions may be inferred from the records of the neighbouring kingdoms of Mewār and Gujarāt. *Bahikādhikṛtas* might have, like the Kauṭilīya *Gāṇanikyas*, worked under the *Akṣapaṭalika*[55]. And then the Court may not have been also without its usual *Rāja-vallabhas*, or favourites. Tradition ascribes Chand Bardāī a very high place in the counsels of Pṛthvīrāja III. The *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* assigns a similar role to a bard named *Pṛthībhaṭa*[56].

51. *Hammīramahākāvya*, XIII, 136-8 and 194.

52. *Ibid.*, IX, 154. The title is found also in Rāmgaṅj copper-plate inscription of Is'varaghoṣa.

53. The word 'Chāṭa' is interpreted by some scholars to mean 'the head of a *pargana* responsible for the internal management of a district for the collection of revenues and the apprehension of criminals'. If this interpretation be accepted, the *Bhāṭa* has to be regarded perhaps as his employee.

54. Chāchigadeva's Bhinmāl inscription of Saṁ. 1333.

55. Cf. the *Arthas'āstra*, Book II, Ch. 7.

56. Cf. *PV.*, XII. He is extolled specially for his knowledge of *Itihāsa*.

The Cakravartin and his Kṣetra

By

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ootacamund.*

1. A Hyperbolic and Conventional Element in the Description of Indian Rulers.

It is well known that the poets at the courts of medieval Indian rulers often grossly exaggerated the achievements and position of their patrons. Sometimes even a small landlord enjoying the right of collecting taxes from a village or two was endowed with epithets befitting an emperor. Thus several manuscripts copied about the beginning of the 18th century for Rājanārāyaṇa, the quite insignificant zamindar of Kāśījorā in the Midnapur district, west Bengal, represent the landlord as **दोर्दण्ड-प्रबल-प्रताप-परम, प्रबलप्रतापान्वित-राजाधिराज** and **महाराजाधिराज**[1]. To illustrate the tendency to exaggerate in the court-poets of the early-medieval kings of India, one may refer to the description of Chandella Dhaṅga (c. 950-1002 A. D.) in an inscription from Khajuraho[2].

It is implied that the Chandella king crushed the rulers of Kāñcī, Andhra, Rāḍhā and Aṅga and had the queens of the defeated monarchs imprisoned in his capital. The claim is, however, absurd on the face of it. In the first place, it is extremely doubtful whether Dhaṅga at all came into conflict with the four kings mentioned, even if we take the rulers of Aṅga and Rāḍhā to have been merely viceroys of the mighty Pāla emperor of eastern India. Secondly, if Dhaṅga actually came into conflict with the above-mentioned kings, it is more doubtful that he came off victorious in all the four cases. Thirdly, even if he may have succeeded in defeating the four kings, it is really impossible to think that he succeeded also in carrying off their wives. Fourthly, supposing that he actually captured the queens of Kāñcī, Andhra, Rāḍhā and Aṅga, he would have naturally placed them in his own harem instead of his prison.

It may, however, be admitted that such hopeless exaggeration is less noticeable in the description of the Indian rulers of the earlier period of history. For this reason, the earlier the king is, the greater is our reliance in his claims, in spite of the obvious fact that there is always a considerable amount of exaggeration in the royal *praśastis* composed by the court-poets of Indian monarchs. But definite statements such as the mention of the personal names of adversaries are generally more trustworthy than vague claims. Whatever be the nature of exaggeration, there is certainly an amount of truth in the

1. Cf. *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Vol. LVIII, pp. 17-18.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 145.

claims put forward in such records as the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta and the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Choḷa I.

Although exaggeration with reference to the achievements of Indian kings is a remarkable feature of royal *pras'astis* of the medieval period, it is by no means absent even in the earliest records, both literary and epigraphic. There are the following two *gāthās* in the *S'atapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 5, 4. 11 and 13: (1) अष्टासप्ततिं भरतो दौःषन्तिर्यमुनामनु गङ्गायां वृत्रघ्नेऽबध्नात् पञ्चपञ्चाशतं हयान् इति। (2) परःसहस्रानिन्द्रायाश्वान् मेध्यान् य आहरद् विजित्य पृथिवीं सर्वामिति. According to the first *gāthā*, Bharata, son of Duṣyanta[3] performed seventyeight Aśvamedhas on the Yamunā and fiftyfive on the Gaṅgā, i.e. one hundred and thirtyfive horse-sacrifices in all. But according to the second *gāthā*, Bharata celebrated more than one thousand As'vamedhas after having conquered the whole earth. Critics can hardly fail to note the difference between the definite nature of the statements in the first *gāthā* and the vagueness of the number 'more than one thousand' and of the expression 'after having conquered the whole earth' in the second *gāthā*.

In connection with the tradition regarding Bharata's conquest of the whole earth, attention may be drawn to the Purāṇic legends according to which the dominions of Bharata and his descendants, the Bhāratas, extended over that tract in the south of Jambudvīpa, which later came to be called Bhāratavarṣa after that monarch[4]. Again, the great Maurya Emperor Aśoka (c. 272-232 B. C.) claims in the Dhauli version of his Fifth Rock Edict to have employed the Superintendents of the Religious Department, called Dharma-mahāmātra, throughout the earth (*sava-puṭhaviyaṃ*), although all the other versions of the above Rock Edict read *sarvatra vijite* (i.e. everywhere in the dominions of Aśoka) in that context. As is well known, Aśoka's empire included India with the exception of Assam and certain small kingdoms to the south of Mysore but together with parts of Afghanistan, which was no doubt only a small portion of the earth. In the fourth and fifth centuries A. D., the Gupta emperors who held sway over the major part of northern India but succeeded in extending their political influence over parts of southern India

3. Duḥṣanta is an older form of Duṣyanta.

4. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, I. pp. 73, 131; *Vāyu*, ch. 45, 76; *Viṣṇu*, II, 3, 1. There are diverse traditions regarding the origin of the name Bhāratavarṣa. According to many of the Purāṇas, it was derived from Bhārata, son of Ṛṣabha and grandson of Nābhi who was a descendant of Vaivasvata Manu (*Bhāgavata*, XI, 2, 15, ff; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 34, 44; etc.). In certain Purāṇic passages (*Matsya*, 114, 5; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 49, 10), however, the name Bhāratavarṣa is said to have been derived from Bharata which was just a second name of Manu himself. But the *Bhāratī-prajā*, *Bhāratī-santati*, etc., of the Purāṇic passages appear to refer to the Bhārata people (probably the Bharatas of the Vedic literature; cf Raychaudhuri: *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 79)represented clearly as the descendants of Bharata Dauṣyanti in the *Mahābhārata*. The Purāṇas, moreover, represent Bharata Dauṣyanti as a *cakravartin* or *sārvabhauma*, i.e. a universal monarch or emperor (*Mahābhārata*, I, 73, 129; cf. *Bhāgavata*, IX, 20, 33).

as well claimed to have either conquered or ruled over 'the whole earth'. Thus the prosperity of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A. D.) is mentioned as *sarva-pṛthivīvijaya-janita*[5] ; the minister of Candragupta II (c. 376-414 A.D.), who accompanied his master in the latter's campaign against the S'akas of Malwa, describes the monarch as having the aim of *kṛtsna-pṛthivījaya*[6]; Kumāragupta I (c. 414-55 A. D.) is said to have ruled over the *pṛthivī* that was encircled by the four seas[7]; Skandagupta (c. 455-67 A. D.) is described as the conqueror of the whole earth (*pṛthivīṁ samagrāṁ*[8]); and Buddhagupta (c. 576-95 A. D.) is represented as the ruler of the earth[9].

Although often the word 'earth' was used to indicate the dominions even of a petty ruler, the expression 'whole earth' was used to signify the kingdom of an imperial, or at least an independent, monarch.

2. Imperial Rulers of India and their Sphere of Influence :

The word *cakravartin* means an imperial ruler, often also called *samrāṭ* (literally 'paramount ruler'), *ekacchatra* (literally, 'one who alone enjoys the umbrella or the insignia of sovereignty'), or *sārvabhauma* which literally means 'the ruler of all land (i.e. the whole earth)' but actually indicates a paramount ruler of a territory without owing allegiance to any overlord. The literal meaning of *cakravartin* is likewise 'one rolling everywhere without obstruction' or 'a ruler the wheels of whose chariot roll everywhere without obstruction'. Two types of this class of rulers are indicated by the words *dis'āmpati*, i.e. 'the ruler of the quarters', and *digvijayin*, i.e. 'the conqueror of the quarters', the word *dis'* being used to signify the territories lying in all the four sides of the capital or original kingdom of the monarch in question. The distinction between the *digvijayin*, i.e. the ruler who acquired an empire by means of conquest, and the *dis'āmpati*, i.e. one who inherited an empire from his forefathers is, however, not clearly maintained in literature[10].

According to the Kauṭilīya *Arthas'āstra* (IX, 1), 'the land which extends north to south from the Himālaya to the sea and measures east to west a thousand *yojanas* is the *kṣetra* (i.e. the sphere of influence) of a *cakravartin* (i.e. an imperial ruler of India)'. Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (ch. XVII) says that a *samrāṭ* (practically the same a *cakravartin*) is one who conquers

5. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol I, p. 259
6 *Ibid.*, p. 272.
7. *Ibid* , p. 293.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 301.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 323

10 Three classes of the *cakravartin* are mentioned in Pali literature, viz. (*a*) *Cakravāla-cakravarttin*, (*b*) *dvīpa-cakravarttin* and (*c*) *prades'a-cakravarttin*. The first is the ruler of all the four *dvīpas* or continents constituting the earth according to the Buddhists, the second of only one of the *dvīpas* and the third merely of a portion of a *dvīpa*. The classification is, however, apparently theoretical.

the whole land from the southern sea (the Indian Ocean) to the Himavat (Himālaya). In the same breath, Rājaśekhara also says that the sphere of influence of a *cakravartin* is the land measuring one thousand *yojanas* and lying between Kumārīpura (Cape Comorin) and Bindusaras (in the Himālayas according to the Purāṇas) and that the conqueror of the above *kṣetra* is a *cakravartin* Thus the sphere of influence of an Indian imperial ruler was the Purāṇic Bhāratavarṣa which is described as lying 'between the Himālaya and the sea (*Himālayād ā samudraṁ*)' or as 'bounded in the south, west and east by the sea and in the north by the Himavat resembling the string of a bow[11]'. This land is sometimes referred to as the country extending 'from the Himālaya to Rāma's bridge[12]' or 'from the Himālaya to the sea-shore[13]'. In some Purāṇic passages, e.g., in *Kūrma*, I, 35, 41, as well as records like some versions of the Minor Rock Edict of Aśoka, the same land seems to be called Jambudvīpa, although according to other popular conceptions Bhāratavarṣa was merely a part of Jambudvīpa.

That the sphere of influence of an Indian imperial ruler did not extend beyond the limits of Bhāratavarṣa, seems to be supported by a statement of Arrian that 'a sense of justice, they say, prevented a king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India[14].

The conception of a mighty king or his generals performing *digvijaya*, that is to say, conquering 'the whole earth', permeates the entire body of the epic and Purāṇic literature. Epic heroes like Karṇa (*Mahābhārata*, III, 253) and the brothers of Yudhiṣṭhira (*Ibid.*, II, 26-32) are described as conquering the quarters or the whole earth. Karṇa completed his *digvijaya* by conquering all the countries in the north, east, south and west and is described as returned to Nāgasāhvaya (Hastinapura, capital of his patron Duryodhana) after having subdued the whole earth'. It is, however, interesting to note that the lists of countries lying in the four different directions and conquered by the epic *digvijayins* are practically the same as the lists of countries and peoples of Bhāratavarṣa as found in the geographical sections of the epics, Purāṇas and other works. Stories of the epic *digvijayins* were no doubt very popular in the age of the Gupta emperors. This is proved not only by the references to epic heroes in records dating from the second century A. D. but also by epigraphic and literary records of the Gupta period. Epigraphic references to the Gupta monarchs either as rulers or as conquerors of 'the whole earth' have already been indicated above. Raghu's conquest of all the quarters in the *Raghuvaṁśa* (canto IV) of Kālidāsa who lived in the fourth-fifth century A.D. is obviously modelled on the epic description of the *digvijayas* of Karṇa, the Pāṇḍava brothers and

11. Raychaudhuri . *Studies in Indian Antiquities* pp. 77-79.
12. Ray, *DHNI.*, Vol. II, p. 1171.
13. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 205.
14. M'Crindle *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 209,

others. Mallinātha in his commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 85, rightly explains the conquest of quarters as indicating *ekachatratva* or universal sovereignty. Raghu began his conquest in the eastern countries on the eastern sea or the Bay of Bengal. Thence he marched towards the south and conquered the Pāṇḍya king. He moved then towards the west and subdued the Pārasīkas or Persians. Then he reached the north where he conquered the Hūṇas on the Vaṅkshu or Oxus and the lord of Prāgjyotiṣa or Kāmarūpa (modern Assam, in the Himālayas. The 'whole earth' in such cases, it may be pointed out again, does not mean the entire land between the North Pole and the South Pole. It simply refers to Bhāratavarṣa regarded as the sphere of influence of an imperial monarch. But even that is also in a conventional sense.

Although the *cakravarti-kṣetra* comprised the whole of Bhāratavarṣa, the claim of the conquest or rule over it on behalf of a historical monarch must naturally be regarded as conventional. Numerous Indian rulers are actually known to have made the claim; but, in none of the cases, the king in question can be taken as the lord of the whole of Bhāratavarṣa extending from the Himālayas to the Indian Ocean These kings were rulers directly of only a part of India, although they conventionally claimed suzerainty over the whole of the country. Sometimes contemporary monarchs are found to make similar claims. There is, therefore, no doubt that the kings claiming conquest of or rule over the whole earth or all the quarters were merely imperial rulers as opposed to those of the subordinate rank. It is also to be remembered that a ruler was often regarded as a *digvijayin* type of *cakravartin* even if he succeeded in conquering a petty rival. The frequent representation of a prince inheriting his father's kingdom as one who conquered the kingdom by the prowess of his own arms is a convention of the same type. By way of illustration, it may be pointed out that in the Omgodu grant[15] of Skandavarman II, his grandfather Skandavarman I, son and successor of Kumāraviṣṇu described as the performer of an Aśvamedha sacrifice, is called *sva-vīryādhigata-rājya* probably owing to the fact that Skandavarman I succeeded in overcoming an obstacle that stood in his way to his paternal throne.

3. *Boundaries of the Cakravarti-kṣetra.*

We have seen above that *kṣetra* (sphere of influence) of a *cakravartin* (an imperial ruler of India) often mentioned as 'the whole earth', was regarded as bounded by the Himālaya or Bindusaras (in the Himālayas) in the north and by the Indian Ocean, Cape Comorin or Rāma's bridge in the south. It has also been shown that sometimes it was described as bounded by four seas on all the four sides. The conception of the *catuḥ-samudra* is no doubt conventional, as Bhāratavarṣa is bounded only on the east, south and west by seas (viz.

15 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 249 ff.

the Bay of Bangal, the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea respectively). There is no sea in the north of this land. Prof. Raychaudhuri suggests that any lake or lakes to the north of India in Central Asia may have been wrongly conceived as a sea and this fact may have been responsible for the conception of India having four seas in four directions. The northern sea, however, may have actually been the deserts of Central Asia often represented in literature as 'the sea of sand'[16]. The conception of the *catuḥ-samudra* is also found in the Vedic literature where the expression is usually explaind by the word *antarikṣa*, i.e. sky in the four directions. According to the Purāṇas[17], the world consists of seven concentric *dvīpas* or islands each of which is encircled by a sea, the central island called Jambudvīpa being surrounded by the salt sea[18]. Bhāratavarṣa was the southern most part of this Jambudvīpa, although as we have seen, sometimes the two names are used almost synonymously. The mythical conception of the seven seas may have owed its origin to the Vedic *sapta-sindhu*, i.e. the seven rivers of north-western Bhāratavarṣa. Whatever that may be, the Purāṇic conception of the earth being encircled by the sea coupled with the Vedic idea of the *catuḥ-samudra* may have been responsible for the later conception of the *cakravarti-kṣetra* (called the whole earth) bounded by the seas on all the four directions. In the literary and epigraphic records, often definite localities (which are mythical in some cases) are mentioned in the north, east, south and west of the 'whole earth' or *cakravarti-kṣetra* and as expected, they practically correspond to the boundaries of ancient Bhāratavarṣa. Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*[19] gives the following boundaries of the kingdom of an imaginary emperor named Candrāpīḍa : Gandhamādana (on which Badarikāśrama in the Himālayas is situated) in the north, Setubandha in the south, the mythical Udaya or Sun-rise mountain in the east and the mythical Maṇdara (apparently located here in the western or Arabian sea just as the mythical Sun-set mountain in a similar context in the *Harṣacarita*) in the west. In the *Harṣacarita*[20] of the same author, the boundaries given in connection with king Harṣavardhana's attempt to conquer the

16. The suggestion is supported by the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV, 172, 279, 294; VIII, 2763. See also Stein's trans., Vol. I, p. 75.

17. Cf. *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 54, 6-7.

18. There is another Purāṇic conception according to which the earth consists of four great *dvīpas* resembling four petals of a lotus. The pericarp of this earth-lotus is the Meru or Sumeru Mount. Similar is the conception of the Buddhists as found in the Pali literature: 'In each *cakravāla*, between the *cakravāla-parvata* and the outermost of the rocky circles which environ Meru, lies a vast ocean. In this ocean are situated, equidistant from each other, four *mahā-dvīpas*, 'great islands' or continents. On the north is Uttarakuru, on the south Jambudvīpa on the east Pūrvavideha and on the west Apara-goyāna Of these, Jambudvīpa is larger than the rest, being a hundred thousand *yojanas* in diameter, and includes India'.

19. Ed. Siddhāntavāgīśa, Calcutta, pp. 194-95.

20. N. S. Press ed., p. 217.

quarters are : Gandhamādana in the north, Suvela (the hill on which the city of Laṅkā was believed to have been situated) in the south, the mythical Sunrise mountain in the east and the mythical Sunset mountain in the west.

Similarly in the colophon of Vijñāneśvara's *Mitākṣarā*, commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, the dominions of the author's patron, the later Chālukya monarch Vikramāditya VI (c. 1076-1127 A.D.) of Kalyāṇī are described as bounded by Rāma's bridge in the south, Himālaya in the north, western sea (Arabian Sea) in the west and the eastern sea (Bay of Bengal) in the east.

We have also a large number of inscriptions supporting the same traditions. The Meharauli inscription[21] of Candra, who is apparently no other than the imperial Gupta monarch Candragupta II (c. 376-414 A. D.), describes the king as having conquered the Vaṅgas (of south-eastern Bengal) in the east crossed the seven mouths of the Sindhu (or Indus, all of which fall in the Arabian sea) in the west, defeated the Bālhīkas (inhabiting the Balkh region on the Oxus) in the north and subdued certain people on the shores of the southern sea (Indian Ocean). A Mandasor inscription[22] describes king Yaśodharman (c. 532 A.D.) of Malwa as having subdued the whole land bounded by the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) in the east, the Mahendra (i.e. Mahendragiri in the Tinnevelly district) in the south, the Himālaya in the north and the western sea (Arabian Sea) in the west. Both the above records belong to the age of the imperial Guptas when the convention of the *cakravartin* and his *kṣetra* appears to have developed its popularity. There are numerous similar references in later records.

King Devapāla (c. 810-50 A. D.) is described in his records[23] as the only lord of the whole land bounded by the source of the Gaṅgā (Himālaya) in the north, Rāma's bridge in the south, Varuṇa's abode (western sea) in the west and Lakshmī's abode (eastern sea) in the east. A similar list of the boundaries of the *cakravarti-kṣetra* seems to be quoted in connection with the victories of the army of Devapāla's father Dharmapāla (c. 770-810 A. D.) where mention is made of Kedāra (in the Himālayas) in the north, the Gaṅgā-sāgara confluence in the east and the Gokarṇa (in the North Kanara district of Bombay) and other holy places in the south and west[24]. The Karhad grant[25] of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III (c. 940-68 A.D.) of Manyakheṭa (Malkhed in Hyderabad) says that he subdued the rulers of the whole land bounded by the eastern sea in the east, the western sea in the west,

21. *Sel. Ins.* p. 276.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 394.
23. *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 38.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
25. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 284-85.

the Himaśaila (Himālaya) in the north and Siṁhala-dvīpa (i.e. Ceylon) in the south. In the records[26] of the Paramāra kings of Malwa, king Bhoja (c. 1010-55 A. D.) is said to have enjoyed, the earth extending from the Kailāsa (in the Himālaya) in the north, the Malaya mountain (Travancore hills) in the south, mythical Sun-set mountain in the west and the mythical Sunrise mountain in the east. In the inscriptions of the Vijayanagara rulers, Vīranarasiṁha (c. 1506-09 A. D.), elder brother of the celebrated Kṛṣṇadevarāya (c. 1509-29 A. D.), is described as having ruled over a kingdom bounded by the Setu (i.e., Rāma's bridge) in the south, the mythical Sumeru mountain (to the north of Bhāratavarṣa) in the north, the mythical Sunrise mountain in the east and the western mountain (the mythical Sunset mountain) in the west[27]. The boundaries of the *cakravarti-kṣetra* given in connection with the achievements of Kṛṣṇadevarāya himself, often in the same inscription, are: the eastern mountain (i.e., the mythical Sunrise mountain) in the east, the mythical Sunset mountain in the west, the Himācala in the north and the Setu in the south[28].

It should be remembered that whenever a king is described as the ruler or conqueror of a territory indicated by four boundaries that may by placed about the borders of Bhāratavarṣa, the claim has to be regarded as merely conventional. There is usually no truth in the claim beyond that the king in question regarded himself as an imperial, or at least an independent, ruler. The conventional nature of such claims is further demonstrated clearly by a verse describing the victories of the Pāla army in the whole area bounded by the eastern land in the east, the valley of the Malaya (Travancore hills) in the south, in the Maru country (Marwar or the Rajaputana Desert) in the west and Prāleyādri (Himālaya) in the north, as found in the records of the different monarchs of the Pāla family of Bengal and Bihar[29]. Now exactly the same verse is found to have been employed by the Pāla court-poets in describing the achievements of no less than three monarchs, viz. Rājyapāla (first half of the tenth century), his grandson Vigrahapāla II (middle of the tenth century) and the latter's greatgrandson Vigrahapāla III (middle of the eleventh century).

It will be seen that the following boundaries of the *cakravarti-kṣetra* are indicated by the epigraphic and literary records discussed above: (1) north—Himālaya, Bindusaras, Gandhamādana, Kailāsa, Kedāra, the mythical Sumeru mountain, Prāgjyotiṣa or Kāmarūpa, Vaṅkṣu or Oxus and Bālhīka; (2) south…Indian Ocean, Cape Comorin, Mahendragiri, Setubandha-Rāmeśvara,

26. *Ibid.*, I, p. 235.

27. *Mys Arch. Surv.*, AR., 1941, pp. 185-86.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 187

29. *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 95

Suvela, Siṁhaladvīpa and Malaya; (3) east—Vaṅga, Lauhitya, the mythical eastern or Sunrise mountain, Bay of Bengal, the eastern country and Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama; (4) west—the mouths of the Sindhu, Arabian Sea, the mythical Mandara, western or Sunset mountain, the Rajaputana Desert and Pārasīka (Persia). As already pointed out above, these were the traditional boundaries of Bhāratavarṣa, conceived as the sphere of influence of an imperial ruler of India, and they had really nothing to do with the actual territories of the king who is described as the lord or conqueror of the land within the above boundaries.

4. Conception of two Cakravarti-kṣetras:

Besides the above *cakravarti-kṣetra* comprising the whole of Bhāratavarṣa, north India and south India were sometimes regarded as separate spheres of influence of the imperial monarchs respectively of Northern and Southern India. In view of the conventional nature of the claim of the status of a *cakravartin*, it is interesting to note that sometimes the same king is represented as the lord of the whole of the *cakravarti-kṣetra* in one case but of the partial *cakravarti-kṣetra* comprising either North or South India in another. We have referred above to the description of the Pāla king, Devapāla of Bengal and Bihar as the only lord of the whole land bounded by the Himālaya, Rāma's bridge, the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea Elsewhere[30] however the same monarch is said to have subdued the whole land bounded by the father of Revā (Narmadā), i.e. the Vindhya, in the south, the father of Gaurī, i.e. the Himālaya, in the north, and the two seas (eastern and western, i.e., the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea) in the east and west. These boundaries of North India are no doubt based on Manu's celebrated definition of Āryāvarta. Similar claims are known to have been made on behalf of many other imperial rulers of Northern India. Thus Vīsala or Vigraharāja IV (c. 1053-64 A. D.) of the Chāhamana dynasty of Ajmer and S'ākambharī is described as having subdued Āryāvarta lying between the Vindhya and the Himādri[31].

The Sātavāhana kings of the Deccan claimed to have been the lords of Dakṣiṇāpatha, a name often applied to the whole of South India lying beyond the Vindhyas and the Narmadā. The great Sātavāhana monarch Gautamīputra S'ātakarṇi (c. 106-30 A.D.) actually ruled over the Western part of South India from the Kṛṣṇā in the south to Ākara and Avanti in Malwa in the north. But he claims at the same time to have been the lord of the Vindhya, Ṛkṣavat, Pāriyātra, Mahendra and Malaya mountains which covered practically the whole of the Vindhyan range as well as the Eastern and Western Ghats. That Gautamīputra S'ātakarṇi claimed a sort of vague suzerainty over the whole

30. *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p 72
31. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 215-19.

of South India is further indicated by the claim that his chargers drank the waters of the three seas, no doubt meaning the eastern, southern and western seas, i.e. the Bay of Bangal, the Indian Ocean and the Arbian sea. A Sātavāhana king is mentioned in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*[32] as 'the lord of the three seas'.-

South India conceived as a separate *cakravarati-kṣetra* is mentioned as bounded by the three seas also in the inscriptions of a later date. The Chālukyas of Badami claimed to be lords of the land lying within the three seas : त्रिसमुद्र-मध्यवर्ति-भुवन-मण्डलाऽधीश्वर[33]. The Mulgund inscription of Pañcāla similarly represents him as the lord of the whole country bounded by the eastern, western and southern seas[34]. The inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukyas, however, refer to the southern *cakravarti-kṣetra* as the land between the Narmadā and the Setu[35].

Among other epigraphic references to South India as the special sphere of influence of South Indian monarchs, mention may be made of a Kadamba inscription[36] in which the Kadamba king Ravivarman (c. 490-538 A.D.) is represented as the lord of the earth as far as the Narmadā in the north.

5. The two Cakravarti-kṣetras mentioned together

We have seen above that the Paramāra king Bhoja (c. 1010-55 A.D.) is sometimes represented as the lord of land bounded by the Kailāsa, the Malaya and the mythical Sun-set and Sun-rise mountains. There is another tradition which says that the same Paramāra king ruled for a little over fiftyfive years over 'Dakṣiṇāpatha, together with '*Gauḍa*'.[37] There is no doubt that Dakṣiṇāpatha has been mentioned here in the sense of the whole of South India, often conceived as a separate *cakravarti-kṣetra*. That the claim is merely conventional is shown by the fact that Bhoja's dominions did not include any considerable part of South India. But scholars have so long failed to grasp the correct significance of the word *Gauḍa* mentioned in relation to Dakṣiṇāpatha in the above context.

I have little doubt that Gauḍa has been mentioned here to indicate the northern *cakravarti-kṣetra* or Āryāvarta, so that Bhoja is represented as the lord of the entire *cakravarti-kṣetra* comprising both Dakshiṇāpatha and North India. Thus both the partial *cakravarti-kṣetras* are mentioned here side by side to signify the whole of Bhāratavarṣa conceived as the main *cakravarti-kṣetra*. It is interesting to note in this connection that there

32. *Op. cit*, p. 251.
33. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 64, etc.
34. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 307, 432.
35. Venkataramanayya · *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi*, p 7.
36 Srikanta Sastri *Sources of Karnataka History*, p. 24.
37. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 858

is some evidence in support of the name Gauḍa being sometimes applied to indicate the whole of Northern India. The Brāhmaṇical society of South India is usually divided into five classes called the *Pañcha-Drāviḍa.* These classes are : (1) Drāviḍa (Tamil), (2) Karṇāṭa (Kannaḍa), (3) Gurjara (Gujarati), (4) Mahārāshṭra and (5) Tailaṅga (Telugu). This classification is based on a linguistic division of the South Indian Brāhmaṇas. Although the population of North India can hardly be divided into five linguistic groups, with propriety an attempt was made in imitation of the South Indian classification to classify the Brāhmaṇa society of Northern India into the same number of subdivisions. Strangely however the common name applied to the five classes of North Indian Brāhmaṇas was Gauḍa as Drāviḍa is the general name of southern Brāhmaṇas. The divisions of the Northern Brāhmaṇas are : (1) Sārasvata (associated with the valley of the Sarasvatī in the Punjab), (2) Kānyakubja (in the U. P.), (3) Gauḍa (in Bengal), (4) Maithila (in North Bihar) and Utkala (in Orissa). In these cases, therefore, the name Drāviḍa indicates South India, while Gauḍa signifies North India. We know that the name Gauḍa, originally the name of a part of Bengal, was often used to indicate all the countries of Eastern India. Thus the East Indian style of Sanskrit composition as well as the medieval East Indian alphabet came to be called after Gauḍa. A further expansion of the connotation of the name to indicate the whole of North India is suggested by the classification of Brāhmaṇas referred to above[38].

38. Some of the points discussed in this paper were raised by me in JRASB. V, 1939, pp. 407ff As regards the last section, cf. my paper entitled *Gauḍa*, recently contributed to the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.

Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law[1]

Legal, Fiscal, Social and Penal Privileges accorded to Infants, Aged, Diseased, Helpless and Distressed Persons according to Ancient Indian Law[2]

By

LUDWIK STERNBACH, *New York*.

INTRODUCTION

Infants (*bāla*)[3], aged persons (*vṛddha*), persons afflicted with disease

1. This is No. 15 of the author's serial papers entitled 'Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law'; other papers having appeared as follows: Nos. I, 5, 10 and 14 in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol XXIV, part 3, XXV, part 4; XXVI, parts 3-4; Nos. 2, 4 and 9 in The *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. VIII, parts 1-2, 3-4; IX, parts 1-2; X, parts 3-4 Nos. 3 and 6 in The *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI, 8-9; VII, 5-6. No. 7 in *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. VI, 7-8; Nos. 11, 12 and 13 in Supplement to The *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. VII, 3-4.

2. The following Abbreviations are to be noted

Āp. = *Āpastambīya Dharmas'āstra*, ed. by G. Bühler, BSS. 1892-1894.

B. = *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra*, ed. by E. Hultzsch, in Abhandlungen fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vol. VIII, Leipzig, 1884.

Bṛh. = *Bṛhaspati-Smṛti*, reconstructed, ed. by K. V. Rangaswami Aiangar, in Gaekwad Oriental Series, Vol. LXXXV, Baroda, 1941.

G. = *Gautama-Dharmas'āstra*, ed. by A. F. Stenzler, London, 1876.

K. = *Kauṭilīya- Arthas'āstra*, ed. by R. Shama Shastry, Oriental Library Publications, Sanskrit Series, No. 37/64, Mysore, 1924.

Kāty. = *Kātyāyana-Smṛti*, ed. by P. V. Kane, Bombay, 1933.

Kull. = Kullūka's commentary on Mn.

Medh = Medhātithi's commentary on Mn., ed. by G. Jha, Calcutta, 1932.

Mit. = See under Y.

Mn. = *Mānava-Dharmas'astra* with the commentary of Medhatithi in Bibliotheca Indica, ed. by G. Jhā, Calcutta, 1932-1939; ed. by J. Jolly, London, 1887; with the commentary of Kull. in Nirṇaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1886.

N. = *Nārada-Smṛti* with the Commentary of Asāhaya, ed by J. Jolly, Calcutta, 1885.

Nār = Nārāyaṇa's commentary on Mn.

S'ukr. = *S'ukranītisāra*, ed. by Oppert, Madras, 1882.

Vās. = *Vāsiṣṭha-Dharmas'āstra*, ed. by A. A. Fuehrer, Poona, 1930.

Vi = *Viṣṇu-Smṛti*, ed. by J. Jolly, Calcutta, 1881.

Vīr. = See under Y.

VM. = *Vyavahāra-Mayūkha* of Bhaṭṭa Nīlkaṇṭha, ed. by J. R. Gharpure, Bombay, 1914.

Y. = Yājñavalkya's Dharmas'āstra. The *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti* with Vīramitrodaya (Vīr) — the commentary of Mitra Mis'ra and Mitākṣarā (Mit.) — the commentary of Vijñānes'vara, ed. by N. S. Kh. Sāhityācārya, in Chowkhambā Sanskrit Series, 1930; ed. by W. L S. Pāns'ikar, with Mit. in Nirṇaya Sagar Press Bombay, 1936.

3. *Bāla* is one who has not reached the age of sixteen (Kull. and Nar. on Mn. VIII, 27, S'ūlapāṇi *ad.* Y. II, 25 and many others). Cf. L. Sternbach, Legal Relations between Employers and Employees in Ancient India, in The *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. VIII, part. 3 B.

(*vyādhita*), and distressed persons (*ārta*)[4,5] have a peculiar and special place in the Indian law, for according to Mn. they should be always held in respect by the king.[6] They should be honoured, treated with kindness and should be the recipient of gifts[7].

They[8] conquer all the worlds[9] and, therefore, one[10] should not enter into a dispute with them[11]. A *snātaka* should not quarrel with them[12].

The rule given in the Dharmaśāstras that a Brāhmaṇa should without hesitation give food to these persons 'even before his guests[13]', can well be taken as an illustrative example, that they should be honoured.

4. *Ārta* or *ārtta*. According to Medh 'distressed by separation from his loved ones or such other causes' · आर्त्तः प्रियवियोगादिना (Medh. *ad*. Mn. VIII, 395)

5 As well as Vedic scholars (*s'rotriya*), indigent persons (*akiñcana*), persons of high birth (*mahākulīna*) and honourable persons (*ārya*)

6. श्रोत्रियं व्याधितार्त्तौ च बालवृद्धावकिंचनम् ।
महाकुलीनमार्यं च राजा संपूजयेत्सदा ॥ (Mn. VIII, 395)

7. That is the explanation given by Medh. to the word *saṃpūjana*
संपूजनमनुग्रहः । ..एतेषां दानमानादिभिरनुग्रहः कर्तव्यः ।
(Medh. *ad* Mn. VIII, 395). *Saṃ√pūj* means also to salute diferentially, honour greatly, revere, to present respectfully with, to praise, to commend, etc.

8. Infants (*bāla*), aged persons (*vṛddha*) and persons afflicted with disease (*ātura*) (Y. I, 157).

9. मातृपित्रतिथिभ्रातृजामिसंबन्धिमातुलैः ।
वृद्धबालातुराचार्यवैद्यसंश्रितबान्धवैः ॥
ऋत्विक्पुरोहितापत्यभार्यादाससनाभिभिः ।
विवादं वर्जयित्वा तु सर्वाँल्लोकाञ्जयेद् गृही ॥ (Y. I, 157; 158)

10. A *snātaka*.

11 मात्रादिभिर्विवादं कलहं वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणं व्यवहारं वर्जयन् गृहस्थः सर्वान् ब्राह्मणादीन् लोकान् जयति प्राप्नोति । तस्मादेभिर्विवादं नाचरेदिति तात्पर्यम् ॥
(Vīr. *ad* Y. I, 157, 158)

12. ऋत्विक्पुरोहिताचार्यैर्मातुलातिथिसंश्रितैः ।
बालवृद्धातुरैर्वैद्यैर्ज्ञातिसंबन्धिबान्धवैः ॥
मातापितृभ्यां जामीभिर्भ्रात्रा पुत्रेण भार्यया ।
दुहित्रा दासवर्गेण विवादं न समाचरेत् ॥ (Mn. IV, 179, 180).

Cf. *Mahābhārata* XII, 244/14, 15.

13. Infants or young people (*bāla, kumāra*, etc.) are mentioned in Mn. (III, 114), Y. (I, 105), Āp. (II, 2, 4, 12), B. (II, 7, 13, 5), G. (V, 25), *S'āṅkhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra* (II, 14, 21), *Pāraskara-Gṛhyasūtra* (II, 9, 13), *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* in *Parās'aramādhavīya* p. 364, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (*idem*) aged persons (*vṛddha, sthavira*, etc.) are mentioned in Y. (I, 105), Āp

The legal implication of the rule that they be 'treated with kindness' is that these persons should be given special privileges. They are under a special protection of the State, because of their dependence and their inability to direct their own affairs[14,15].

These privileges were accorded in Ancient India to these persons[16] in the legal, fiscal, social and penal fields. Examples of the most important privileges granted are given below

A. LEGAL PRIVILEGES

1. Protection of Property:

The most general rule, found in the Smṛtis and Dharmas'āstras, states that the property of persons incapable of transacting legal business (*aprāptavyavahāra*) must be protected by the king[17]. *Aprāptavyavahāra* implies, in the first place, minors in law[18]; it implies also other persons incapable of transacting legal business, such as women, helpless persons, etc.

In Vi. we also find a more general rule; it is stated therein that the king is required to protect the property of infants (*bāla*), helpless persons (*anātha*) and of women[19]. In G. it is stated only that the property of infants

(II, 4, 12), B. (II, 7, 13, 5), G. (V, 25), *S'āṅkhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra* (II, 14, 21), *Pāraskara-Gṛhyasūtra* (II, 9, 13), *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* in *Parās'aramādhavīya* p. 364, *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* (*idem*); persons afflicted with disease (*ātura*) are mentioned in Mn. (III, 114), Y (I, 105), Āp. (II, 2, 4, 12), B (II, 7, 13, 5), G. (V, 25); distressed persons (*dīna*) are mentioned in B. (II, 7, 13, 5), etc

14. Infants are mentioned in Mn. (VIII, 163), Y. (II, 32), Bṛh. (VI, 52), Vi. (VII, 10), K. (184/11); aged persons are mentioned in Mn. (VIII, 163), K. (148/11), S'ūlapāṇi (*ad* Y. II, 32); distressed persons are mentioned in Y. (II,32); Bṛh. (in VM 13/28, VI, 42), N (I, 41). Mention is also made of persons afflicted with disease (*unmatta*) in Mn (VIII, 163), Y (II, 32), Bṛh. (in VM. 13/28), etc.

15 As such they are considered as incapable to conclude any contracts. Cf. L. Sternbach, Legal Relations between Employers and Employees in Ancient India, in The *Poona Orientalist*, Vol VIII, paragraph 3 B.

They cannot give evidence in court and called as witnesses. Infants (*bala*, *s'is'u*) are mentioned in Mn. (VIII, 66, 71), Y. (II, 70), Vi. (VIII, 2, 3), N. (I, 187, 190, 191 because they would give fake evidence due to their ignorance, *ajñāna*), Us'anas (in VM. p. 17/6); persons afflicted with disease (*ātura*) are mentioned in Mn. (VIII, 71), N. (I, 179); distressed persons (*ārta*) are mentioned in N. (I,178) They are also not acceptable as sureties (*bala* and *vṛddha*) and the like. Cf L. Sternbach Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law; 12 Suretyship, in 'Supplement to Bhāratīya Vidyā, Vol. VIII, Nos.-3-4, p. 37, paragraph 30 D.

16. As well as to others, the most important of which are women (*strī*). In this connection cf. A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation*, Benares, 1938; J. J. Meyer : *Das Weib im alt-indischen Epos*.

17. अप्राप्तव्यवहाराणाम् ॥

(Vas. XVI, 8). Similarly S'aṅkha-Likhita, in Vivādacintāmaṇi, p. 598.

18. Monier-Williams *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*

19 बालानाथस्त्रीधनानि च राजा परिपालयेत् । (Vi. III, 65)

(*bāla*) must be protected[20], similarly in Mn.[21] and *Agni-Purāṇa*[22].

Special rules for the protection of property of persons incapable of transacting legal business (*aprāptavyavahāra*), in regard to inheritance law, are also to be found in Kāty[23]. K.[24], B.[25] and others[26].

The protection of the property of infants (*bāla*), helpless persons (*anātha*) or those persons who are unfit to transact legal business (*aprāpta-vyavahāra*) means the administration of their property, as long as they are unfit to transact legal business on their own. This is explained in Vās., Mn. G. in so far as it relates to infants:

Vās., although using the word *aprāptavyavahāra*, states that as soon as this person comes of age, his property must be made over to him[27].

Mn.[28] and G.[29] dealing with the same rule states that the king shall protect the property of a minor until he has returned from his teacher's house or until he has passed his minority. According to the commentators (Kull. and Nār.) an infant attains majority upon reaching sixteenth year, but if an infant finishes his Veda-study before attaining the sixteen years of age, at that time he becomes capable of transacting legal business on his own. Medh. also explains that the first alternative is applied to *dvija* and the second to *śūdras*[30].

20. रक्ष्यं बालधनमा व्यवहारप्रापणात्समावृत्तेर्वा ॥ (G. X, 48)
21. बालदायादिकं रिक्थं तावद्राजानुपालयेत् ॥ (Mn. VIII, 27)
22. Rājadharma (222, 18-19)
23. अप्राप्तव्यवहाराणां च धनं व्ययविवर्जितम् ।
न्यसयुर्बन्धुमित्रेषु प्रोषितानां तथैव च ॥ (Katy. 845)
24. प्राप्तव्यवहाराणां विभागः । अप्राप्तव्यवहाराणां देयविशुद्धं मातृबन्धुषु ग्रामवृद्धेषु वा स्थापयेयुर्व्यवहारप्रापणात् प्रोषितस्य वा ॥ (K. 161/4-6)
25. तेषामप्राप्तव्यवहाराणामंशान् सोपचयान् सुनिगुप्तान् निदध्युरा व्यवहारप्रापणात् ॥ (B. II, 2, 3, 36)
26. According to some commentators Mn. (VIII, 27) refers to inheritance law only.
27. प्राप्तकाले तु तद्यत् ॥ (Vās. XVI, 9)
28. यावत्स स्यात्समावृत्तो यावद्वातीतशैशवः ॥ (Mn. VIII, 27)
29. रक्ष्यं बालधनमा व्यवहारप्रापणात्समावृत्तेर्वा ॥ (G. X, 48)
30. बालो दायादोऽस्य तदिदं बालदायादिकम् । दायादः स्वाम्यत्रोच्यते । बालस्वामिकं धनं तावद्राजा रक्षेद्यावदसौ समावृत्तो गुरुकुलात्प्रत्यागतो यावद्वाऽतीतशैशवः अतिक्रान्तबालभावः । अयं च विकल्पः । यो गृहशैशवो भवति तदर्थमतीतशैशवमुच्यते—यस्तु व्रतकः स निवृत्तेऽपि शैशवे आ समावर्तनात्प्रतिपाल्यधनः स्यात् । अथवा द्विजातीनां समावर्तनमवधिरन्येषां शैशवात्ययः (Medh. *ad* Mn VIII, 27)

It is evident from the rules quoted above that a most general protection is extended by the State to infants and helpless persons as long as they are incapable of transacting legal business. They receive a legal guardian in the person of the king, or his administration unless other persons, who are nearer to the infants, or to other persons who are incapable of transacting legal business have not the right and duty to take care of them.

2. *Legal Advisers :*

K. states clearly that transactions of infants (*bāla*), aged persons (*vṛddha*), persons afflicted with disease (*vyādhita*), and helpless persons (*anātha*) shall be decided by the judges themselves (K. 200/1-3)[31]. That means that these persons, being under the special protection of the State, enjoy not only the special privileges in law, mentioned above, but have also in the judges their official legal advisers who ought to transact without any fee, *ex officio*, all the affairs of the infants (*bāla*), aged persons (*vṛddha*), afflicted with disease (*vyādhita*) and helpless persons (*anātha*).

3. *Statute of Limitations :*

A According to the ancient Indian law, ownership of property could not be acquired by another person through possession of the property for ten or twenty years if the owner did not object to such a possession because possession is not a *titulus acquirendi* of ownership (Mit. *ad* Y. II, 24)[32]. However, the owner of the property cannot receive it if he 'was looking quietly' that another person enjoys his property for ten or twenty years[33],

31. देवब्राह्मणतपस्विस्त्रीबालवृद्धव्याधितानामनाथानामनभिसरतां धर्मस्थाः कार्याणि कुर्युः । न च देशकालभोगच्छलेनातिहरेयुः ॥ (K. 200 1-3)

32. Different is the opinion of other schools, e.g. Asahaya on N , *ad* (I-78).

33 यत्किंचिद्दश वर्षाणि संनिधौ प्रेक्षते धनी ।
भुज्यमानं परैस्तूष्णीं न स तल्लब्धुमर्हति ॥ (Mn. VIII, 147)
यत्किंचिद्दश वर्षाणि संनिधौ प्रेक्षते धनी ।
भुज्यमानं परैस्तूष्णीं न स तल्लब्धुमर्हति ॥ (N. I, 79)
पश्यतोऽब्रुवतो हानिर्भूमेर्विंशतिवार्षिकी ।
परेण भुज्यमानाया धनस्य दशवार्षिकी ॥ (Y. II, 24)

अजडापोगण्डधनं दशवर्षभुक्तं परैः सन्निधौ भोक्तुः ॥ न श्रोत्रियप्रव्रजितराजन्यपुरुषैः ॥ पशुभूमिस्त्रीणामनतिभोगः ॥ (G. XII, 37-39)

पश्यन्नन्यस्य ददतः क्षितिं यो न निवारयेत् ।
सतोऽपि लेख्येन भुवं न पुनरतामवाप्नुयात् ॥ (Bṛh. VII, 41)
यं कश्चिद्दशवर्षाणि सन्निधौ प्रेक्षते धनी ।
भुज्यमानं परैरर्थं न स तं लब्धुमर्हति ॥

because if a man 'is so foolish' that he allows his property to be enjoyed by another person before his very eyes then he has no right to recover it[34]. Where, however, the owner though unable to recover his property owing to special reasons proffers his claim to every day, or every month, or every year, it is not lost to him even after the lapse of ten or twenty years, whichever period should be applicable[35].

Hence, according to some of the Indian juridical schools the right of ownership is lost through failure to exercise this right and according to some other schools the right of ownership is acquired by the long exercise of possession.

B. There are some exceptions from this general rule. This rule is not applied, *inter alia*, to minors (*poganda*)[36], since according to Mn.[37], Y.[38], N.[39],

वर्षाणि विंशतिर्यस्य भूर्भुक्ता तु परैरिह ।
सति राज्ञि समर्थस्य तस्य सेह न सिध्यति ॥ S'ukr. V, 4, 221, 222

Cf. also, शक्तस्य संनिधावर्थो येन लेख्येन भुज्यते ।
वर्षाणि विंशतिं यावत्तत्पत्रं दोषवर्जितम् ॥ (Kāty. 299)

Cf. also Vyāsa quoted by S'ūlapāṇi (*ad* Y. II, 24) Vās. (XVI, 16, 17) and Bṛh. (VII, 43-46)

34. Or the goods shall belong to the possessor, even in the presence and during the lifetime of the rightful owner.

भुज्यमानान्परैरर्थान्यः स्वान्मौर्ख्यादुपेक्षते ।
समक्षं जीवतोऽप्यस्य तान्भुक्तिः कुरुते वशे ॥ (N. I, 78)

35. यदि पुनर्देशकालबलापेक्षया तं स्वार्थं प्राप्तुं न क्षमः । प्रतिवचः प्रतिदिनं प्रतिमासं प्रतिवर्षं च करोति । ततः कालान्तरेऽपि तत्तस्य न प्रणश्यति । व्यवहार उत्तरं लभत इत्यर्थः ॥

(Asāhaya *ad* N. I, 79)

36. अजडश्चेदपोगण्डो विषये चास्य भुज्यते ।
भग्नं तद्व्यवहारेण भोक्ता तद्धनमर्हति ॥ (Mn. VIII, 148)

अजडश्चेदपोगण्डो विषये चास्य भुज्यते ।
भग्नं तद्व्यवहारेण भोक्ता तद्धनमर्हति ॥ (N. I, 80)

Cf. Bṛh. (VII-31)

37. आधिः सीमा बालधनं निक्षेपोपनिधिः स्त्रियः ।
राजस्वं श्रोत्रियद्रव्यं नोपभोगेन जीर्यते ॥ (Mn. VIII, 149)

38. आधिसीमोपनिक्षेपजडबालधनैर्विना ।
तथोपनिधिराजस्त्रीश्रोत्रियाणां धनैरपि ॥ (Y. II, 25)

39. आधिः सीमा बालधनं निक्षेपोपनिधिः स्त्रियः ।
राजस्वं श्रोत्रियद्रव्यं न भोगेन प्रणश्यति ॥ (N. I, 81)

Vās.[40], S'ukr.[41], and G.[42,43], the property of infants (*bāla*) and other persons mentioned in the Dharmaśāstras and Arthas'āstras is not lost by adverse possession.

We see here that according to the most important Dharmaśāstras and Arthas'āstras the minors (*pogaṇḍa*) or infants (*bāla*) are under the special protection of the law, since the Dharmaśāstras and Arthas'āstras considered them as exceptions and established that infants (minors) do not lose their rights of ownership by failure to exercise this right and can recover their right of ownership even if the possessor enjoyed before his very eyes, *in bona fide*, the possession.

C. K. goes further and, quoting the same rule as that found in Mn. Y., Vās., Sukr., and G.[44], states that forfeiture of the title of ownership, if it is used by another person during ten years, ought not to be applied to infants (*bāla*) only, but also to aged persons (*vṛddha*), persons afflicted with disease (*vyādhita*) and helpless persons (*vyasanin*) who were absent from home, or who have deserted their country during national disturbances[45].

D. K. also states that debts neglected for ten years which, in principle, cannot be recovered after that period of time might be recovered, *inter alia*, in case of infants (*bāla*), aged persons (*vṛddha)*, persons afflicted with disease (*vyādhita*) and distressed persons (*vyasanin*)[46]. K. states, in general, that to transactions pertaining, *inter alia*, to infants (*bāla*), aged persons (*vṛddha)*, afflicted with disease (*vyādhita*) and helpless persons (*anātha*) excuses in regard to time, place or possession shall not be pleaded[47].

40. आधिः सीमा बालधनो निक्षेपोपनिधिः स्त्रियः ।
राजस्वं श्रोत्रियद्रव्यं न संभोगेन हीयते ॥ (Vās. XVI, 18)

41. आधिः सीमा बालधनं निक्षेपोपनिधिस्तथा ।
राजस्वं श्रोत्रियस्वं च न भोगेन प्रणश्यति ॥ (S'ukr. IV, 5; 225)

42. अजडापोगण्डधनं दशवर्षभुक्तं परैः सन्निधौ भोक्तुः ॥ न श्रोत्रियप्रव्रजितराजन्यपुरुषैः ॥ पशुभूमिस्त्रीणामनतिभोगः ॥ (G. XII, 37-39)

43. Cf. Bṛh. (VII, 41) and K. (190/17-18) quoted below

44. Cf. paragraph 4B.

45. यत् स्वं द्रव्यमन्यैर्भुज्यमानं दशवर्षाण्युपेक्षेत । हीयेतास्य अन्यत्र बालवृद्धव्याधितव्यसनि-प्रोषितदेशत्यागराज्यविभ्रमेभ्यः ॥ (K. 190/17-18)

46. दशवर्षोपेक्षितमृणमप्रतिग्राह्यमन्यत्र बालवृद्धव्याधितव्यसनिप्रोषितदेशत्यागराज्यविभ्रमेभ्यः ॥ (K. 174/16-17)

47. देवब्राह्मणतपस्विस्त्रीबालवृद्धव्याधितानामनाथानामनभिसरता धर्मस्थाः कार्याणि कुर्युः । न च देशकालभोगच्छलेनातिहरेयुः ॥ (K. 200/1-3)

4. *Interests on debts* :

It should also be emphasized that, according to K.[48] infants (*bāla*) and persons afflicted with disease (*vyādhita*) are exempt from the payment of interest on debts. Interest on debts due from these persons as well as from those engaged in sacrifices taking a long time, or detained in the houses of their teachers, or those who are very poor shall not be permitted to accumulate. This Arthaśāstra considered that these persons were unable to pay interest and, therefore, exempt from this obligation. In the case of infants (*bāla*) and persons afflicted with disease (*vyādhita*) this was probably based on the fact that they were, according to the ancient Indian law, under the special protection of the State.

B. FISCAL PRIVILEGES

Exemption from Taxes and Tolls ·

According to Vās., *inter alia*, infants (*bāla*), aged persons (*vrddha*) and youth (*taruṇa*) are exempt from taxes[49]. According to Āp, *inter alia*, male children before attaining puberty (*kumāra prāgvyañjana*) and persons afflicted with disease (*rogin*)[50] and, according to Mn., very aged persons, that is, of seventy years of age (*saptatyā sthavira*)[51] are exempt from taxes.

We do not find in K. a similar rule. K. states only that, *inter alia*, infants (*bāla*), aged persons (*vṛddha*) and persons afflicted with disease (*vyādhita*) are exempt from tolls, when crossing rivers[52].

Both these rules show that the Dharmaśāstras and Arthaśāstras accord to the persons who are under the special protection of the State certain fiscal privileges.

48. दीर्घसत्रव्याधिगुरुकुलोपरुद्धं बालमसारं वा नर्णमनुवर्धेत ॥ (K. 174/14)
49. अकरः श्रोत्रियो राजपुमाननाथप्रव्रजितबालवृद्धतरुणप्रजाताः ॥ (Vās. XIX, 23)
50 अकरः श्रोत्रियः ॥
सर्ववर्णानां च स्त्रियः ॥
कुमाराश्च प्राग्व्यञ्जनेभ्यः ॥
ये च विद्यार्था वसन्ति ॥
तपस्विनश्च ये धर्मपराः ॥
शूद्रश्च पादावनेक्ता ॥
अन्धमूकबधिररोगाविष्टाश्च ॥
ये व्यर्था द्रव्यपरिग्रहैः ॥ (Āp. II, 10, 26, 10-17)
51. अन्धो जडः पीठसर्पी सप्तत्या स्थविरश्च यः ।
श्रोत्रियेषूपकुर्वंश्च न दाप्याः केनचित्करम् ॥ (Mn. VIII, 394)
52. ब्राह्मणप्रव्रजितबालवृद्धव्याधितशासनहरगर्भिण्यो नावध्यक्षमुद्राभिस्तरेयुः ॥ (K. 127/5-6)

C. SOCIAL PRIVILEGES

In Kauṭilya's *Arthas'āstra* we find very interesting and progressive rules which show that the State accorded, at that time, special privileges to persons who were under the special protection of the State and that it was incumbent upon the State to take care of these persons. It might be said that these privileges had more of a social than of a legal implication.

The State, according to Kauṭilya, maintained these persons , it was a type of a Government relief and assistance scheme. The State also accorded to deceased relatives of government servants special privileges ; it was a type of 'widows and orphans' pension scheme. Finally the State accorded to those persons also the right to petition personally before the king.

These special privileges were accorded in the Dharmaśāstras[53] and Arthaśāstras to the persons who were under the special protection of the State.

1. Government Relief and Assistance Scheme:

A. According to K. the king had to provide, *inter alia*, infants (*bāla*), aged persons (*vṛddha*), persons afflicted with disease (*vyādhita*), distressed persons (*vyasanin*) and helpless persons (*anātha*) with maintenance (*bibhṛyāt*)[54]. This is, as stated above, a type of Government relief and assistance.

B. It is, however, doubtful whether this scheme is completely free, that is, whether the State (the king) can require these persons, whom he maintains, to do something for him. It is stated in K. that persons 'not related, who are not bound with anybody' (*asambandhin*)[55] and who are necessarily supported (maintained : *avas'yabhartavya*) have to study science, palmistry, sorcery etc. in order to become government spies[56].

Persons who are necessarily supported by the State are mentioned above[57], that is, infants (*bāla*), aged persons (*vṛddha*), persons afflicted with disease (*vyādhita*), distressed persons (*vyasanin*), and helpless persons (*anātha*), as well as helpless women when they are carrying and new-born male children[58]. In the context, mentioned above, K. uses the word *asambandhin* which has a broad meaning. It can be applied to all the

53. With the exception of penal privileges, all the other privileges in social matters were accorded in K. only.

54. बालवृद्धव्याधितव्यसन्यनाथांश्च राजा बिभृयात् । , (K. 47/19)

55. I read the text ये चाप्य् असम्बन्धिनो (Shama Sastry) and not ये चास्य सम्बन्धिनो (Gaṇapati S'āstrī).

56. ये चाप्यसम्बन्धिनोऽवश्यभर्तव्यास्ते लक्षणमङ्गविद्यां जम्भकविद्यां मायागतमाश्रमधर्मनिमित्तमन्तरचक्रमित्यधीयानाः सत्रिणस्संसर्गविद्या वा ॥ (K. 20/2-4)

57. K. (47/19). See above.

58. स्त्रियमप्रजातां प्रजातायाश्च पुत्रान् ॥ (K. 47/20)

kinds of persons who enjoy special privileges. From the whole Chapter Twelve of the First Book of K., it is evident that the work of spies was not an easy one, and, therefore, it is difficult to admit that, for instance, aged persons (*vṛddha*) or persons afflicted with disease (*vyādhita*) would be able to become spies. However, infants (*bāla*) or new-born male children, as soon as they were capable of administering their own affairs, or women after child birth, etc., if they are *asambandhin* that is, not related, not having any relatives, who have no support from any source except the State, are to study science, palmistry, etc., in order to become spies.

K., although introducing a very progressive scheme of Government relief and assistance, had also in mind the needs of the State.

2. Widows and Orphans' Pension Scheme :

According to K.[59], there existed in the Mauryan period a widows' and orphans' pension scheme in case of the death of government servants. S'ukr.[60] also states that the king had to pay to the wife of the deceased government servant and to well behaved daughters as well as to sons, as long as they are incapable and minors, a special pension.

K. goes further and states that favour should be shown to infants (*bāla*), aged persons (*vṛddha*) and persons afflicted with disease (*vyādhita*), if they were related to the deceased government servant[61]. Since this sentence immediately follows the general rule as to the, widows' and orphans' pension scheme it is clear that infants (*bāla*), mentioned in this context, are not minor sons (*putra*), but other infants who were under his care so long as the government servant was alive. Kauṭilya, introducing this new obligation of the State to take care of persons who are unable to look after themselves, granted undefined additional privileges to infants (*bāla*), aged persons (*vṛddha*) and persons afflicted with disease (*vyādhita*), who were under the care of the deceased government servant and reiterated that they are under the special protection of the State.

3. Right to Petition :

K. clearly states that, when in the court, the king has the duty to hear petitioners, because when the king makes himself inaccessible to his subjects and entrusts his work to his immediate officers, he may be sure to engender confusion in business and to cause thereby public disaffection and himself become a prey to his enemies. He shall hear all urgent calls at once and

59. कर्मसु मृतानां पुत्रदारा भक्तवेतनं लभेरन् ॥ (K. 248/19)

60. यावज्जीवं तु तत्पुत्रेऽक्षमे बाले तदर्द्धकम् ।
भार्य्यायां वा सुशीलायां कन्यायां वा स्वश्रेयसे ॥ (S'ukr. II, 411)

61. बालवृद्धव्याधिताश्चैषामनुग्राह्याः ॥ (K. 248/19-20)

never put them off because if they are postponed they might prove too difficult or impossible to be settled[62].

This duty of the king to hear petitions is not defined as clearly in any of the Smṛtis or Dharmaśāstras, as it is stated in K[63].

The king is not necessarily obliged to perform this duty personally; he might entrust this work to his immediate officers, as stated in the context, although not, to cause public disaffection and himself become a prey to his enemies, it is advisable that he himself performs this duty.

It must be emphasized, however, that the king must personally attend, in order of the enumeration, or according to the urgency or pressure of work, to the business of gods, of heretics, of those learned in the Vedas, of cattle, of sacred places, as well as of infants (*bāla*), aged persons (*vṛddha*), persons afflicted with disease (*vyādhita*), distressed persons (*vyasanin*), helpless persons (*anātha*) and women[65]; these persons have always the right to petition personally before the king. The persons last mentioned are those who are under the special protection of the State.

Here again, special privileges, in the sphere of social activities are accorded to infants (*bāla*), aged persons (*vṛddha*), persons afflicted with disease (*vyādhita*), distressed persons (*vyasanin*) and helpless persons (*anātha*).

D. PENAL PRIVILEGES

1. Lower Penalties :

A. Persons who are under the special protection of the State were not punished, according to Mn., in the same way as other offenders; the penalty in such cases was less severe. The king inflicted on them punishment with a whip, or a bark, or a rope, or the like[65].

These persons are enumerated in Mn. as women (*strī*), infants (*bāla*), men disorderd in intellect (*unmatta*), aged persons (*vṛddha*), poor persons

62. उपस्थानगतः कार्यार्थिनामद्वारासङ्गं कारयेत् ।
दुर्दर्शो हि राजा कार्याकार्यविपर्यासमासन्नैः कार्यते ।
तेन प्रकृतिकोपमरिवशं वा गच्छेत् ॥ (K. 38/18; 39/1)

63. It might be only argued that Mn. (VII,146) stating
तत्र स्थितः प्रजाः सर्वाः प्रतिनन्द्य विसर्जयेत् ।
विसृज्य च प्रजाः सर्वा मन्त्रयेत्सह मन्त्रिभिः ॥
anticipates the existance of oral petitions before the king.

64. तस्माद्देवताश्रमपाषण्डश्रोत्रियपशुपुण्यस्थानानां बालवृद्धव्याधितव्यसन्यनाथानां स्त्रीणां च क्रमेण कार्याणि पश्येत् । कार्यगौरवादात्ययिकवशेन वा ॥ (K. 39/1-3)

65. स्त्रीबालोन्मत्तवृद्धानां दरिद्राणां च रोगिणाम् ।
शिफाविदलरज्ज्वाद्यैर्विदध्यान्नृपतिर्दमम् ॥ (Mn IX, 230)

(*daridra*) and sick persons (*rogin*). J. Jolly reads Mn.'s text *daridra+anātha roginām*. G. Jhā and most of the editors of Mn. read *daridrāṇāṁ ca roginām*. Therefore, those commentators of Mn. who base themselves on J. Jolly's text include in the list of persons on whom corporal punishment should be inflicted—helpless persons (*anātha*). It seems that J. Jolly's reading is the more correct.

Medh. *ad* Mn. (IX, 230) considers these persons as too poor, and as incapable of labour, and states, therefore, that this kind of punishment has to be inflicted on them[66]. However, it seems that the real reason for this less severe punishment is the fact that these persons were under the special protection of the State[67].

B. This can also be seen from K. where it is stated that, *inter alia*, infants (*bāla*), aged persons (*vṛddha*) and persons afflicted with disease (*vyādhita*) can never be subject to tortures[68]. The explanation, given in K., is similar to that given in Medh. *ad* Mn. , these persons are considered to be too weak, too feeble (*durbala*) to be able to endure tortures and, therefore, are under the special protection of the State.

C. K. also states that, *inter alia*, to persons afflicted with disease (*vyādhita*) mercy should be shown[69].

This rule of special mercy to be accorded to persons under the special protection of the State, is confirmed by Kauṭilya's general statement that, in case of amnesty, infants (*bāla*), aged persons (*vṛddha*), persons afflicted with disease (*vyādhita*) and helpless persons (*anātha*) should be set free; there are no exceptions as far as these persons are concerned. Amnesty must always be accorded to these persons who are under the special protection of the State[70].

66. दमम् । कर्मकरणोऽप्यसमर्था दरिद्रा एव गृह्यन्ते । महापातकिनां साम्यात्तच्छिफादिभिस्ताडनम् ॥ (Medh *ad* Mn. IX, 230)

67. It should be noted that N. (XV and XVI, 11 ; 12), Bṛh (XXI, 20) and Kāty. (783) also enumerate other persons on whom corporal punishment instead of a fine should be inflicted; these persons are persistent sinners. Whipping is considered more suitable for them than a fine. The reason for the imposition of such a penalty is completely different to that relating to persons under the special protection of the State

68. मन्दावधानं बालं वृद्धं व्याधितं मत्तमुन्मत्तं क्षुत्पिपासाध्वक्लान्तमत्याशितमात्मकाशितं दुर्बलं वा न कर्म कारयेत् ॥ (K 221/1-2)

69. तीर्थकरस्तपस्वी व्याधितः क्षुत्पिपासाध्वक्लान्तस्तिरोजानपदो दण्डखेदी निष्किञ्चनश्चानुग्राह्याः। (K. 199/15-16).

70. बन्धनागारे च बालवृद्धव्याधितानाथानां च जातनक्षत्रपौर्णमासीषु विसर्गः ॥ (K. 146/18-19).

D. Mn.[71] also states that, *inter alia*, infants (*bāla*) aged persons (*vṛddha*) and sick persons (*ātura*)[72] should be forgiven by the king if they abuse him, that is, cast aspersions upon or curse him[73]. In this manner the king 'accomplishes his own welfare'[74].

Finally Mn.[75] states that, *inter alia*, children (*bāla*) and aged persons (*vṛddha*) should be only reprimanded when they drop filth on the king's high road and should clean the place, while all others should pay in addition, two *kārṣāpaṇas* as a fine[76].

E It should also be noted that the Dharmaśāstras accord special privileges to some of these persons in case of ordeals.

And so, according to Kāty.[77], an ordeal should never be administered to infants(*bāla*)[78] and, according to N.[79], to persons afflicted with disease (*vyādhita*)[80].

These are exceptional rules[81], since other rules mention that the ordeal by balance should be applied to infants (*bāla*), persons afflicted with disease (*rogin, asamartha*) and others.

Particularly Y.[82] states that the ordeal by balance is prescribed for infants

71 क्षन्तव्यं प्रभुणा नित्यं क्षिपतां कार्यिणां नृणाम् ।
बालवृद्धातुराणां च कुर्वता हितमात्मनः ॥ (Mn VIII, 312)

72 If we read बाल+वृद्ध+आतुराणां ; or 'not rich persons' if we read बाल+वृद्ध+अतुराणां.

73. कस्मिंश्चिद्वध्यमाने यदि तत्पिता तन्माता वा राजानं क्षिपेत्कुत्सयेद् अभिशपेद्वा तदा क्षमा कार्या ॥ (Medh. *ad* Mn. VIII, 312).

74. एवमात्मने हितं कृतं भवति। क्षन्तव्यमित्येतद्विधेः फलमेवात्महितम् ॥(Medh. *ad* Mn.VIII, 312)

75. आपद्गतोऽथवा वृद्धा गर्भिणी बाल एव वा ।
परिभाषणमर्हन्ति तच्च शोध्यमिति स्थितिः ॥ (Mn IX, 283)

76. समुत्सृजेद्राजमार्गे यस्त्वमेध्यमनापदि ।
स द्वौ कार्षापणौ दद्यादमेध्यं चाशु शोधयेत् ॥ (Mn IX, 2 2)

77. मातापितृद्विजगुरुबालस्त्रीराजघातिनाम् ।
महापातकयुक्तानां नास्तिकानां विशेषतः ॥ (Kāty 427)

78. And woman (*strī*)

79. सव्रतानां भृशार्तानां व्याधितानां तपस्विनाम् ।
स्त्रीणां च न भवेद् दिव्यं यदि धर्मस्त्ववेक्ष्यते ॥ (N I, 256)

80. And women (*strī*), persons engaged in the performance of a vow (*savrata*), persons afflicted with a heavy calamity (*bhṛśārta*) and ascetics (*tapasvin*),

81. N. (I,313) states that despite the fact that according to N. (I, 256) women (*strī*), children (*bāla*), persons afflicted with disease (*rogin*), aged persons (*vṛddha*) and feeble persons (*durbala*) are not to be subject to the ordeal of water This seems to show that N. (I, 256) was not always applied in practice

82. तुलास्त्रीबालवृद्धान्धपङ्गुब्राह्मणरोगिणाम् ।
अग्निर्जलं वा शूद्रस्य यवाः सप्त विषस्य वा ॥ (Y II, 98)

(*bāla*), aged persons (*vṛddha*), persons afflicted with disease (*rogin*)[83], and N[84]. for infants (*bāla*)[85], aged persons (*vṛddha*)[86], distressed persons (*ātura*)[87] and others[88]. Also Vi.[89] states that this kind of ordeal might be administered *inter alia*, to persons afflicted with disease (*rogin, asamartha*)[90].

On the other hand, it is clear, according to N.[91], that the ordeal by water must never be administered to infants (*bāla*), aged persons (*vṛddha*), persons afflicted with disease (*rogin*) and others[92] and, according to Vi[93]., the ordeal by fire must never be administered to persons afflicted with disease (*asamartha*)[94].

The reason for according these persons special privileges is, however, different from that mentioned above. It is not the question of granting them special protection but the understanding that these persons are unable to endure difficult ordeals. It was understood that these persons would perish immediately, for instance, after diving in case of an ordeal by water[95]. On the other

83. As well as women (*strī*), blind men (*andha*), cripple (*paṅgu*)and Brahmaṇas.

84. Quoted in Vīr. (*ad* Y. II, 98, p. 526)

क्लीबातुरान् सत्त्वहीनान् परितापार्दितान्नरान् ।
बालवृद्धातुरादींश्च परीक्षेत घटे सदा ॥

and in the Vulgata I, 251 (*ad* N. I, 256, p. 112).

अग्नौ तोये विषे चैव परीक्षेतोर्जितान्नरान् ।
बालवृद्धातुरांश्चैव परीक्षेत घटे सदा ॥

85. Quoted in Vīr. and in the Vulgata (cf. note 82).

86. *Ibid* , (cf. note 82).

87. *Ibid.*, (cf. note 82).

88. Women (*strī*), persons devoid of energy (*sattvahīna*), eunuchs (*klība*) (in Vīr. cf. note 82).

89 स्त्रीब्राह्मणविकलासमर्थरोगिणां तुला देया ॥
सा च न वाति वायौ ॥ (Vi. IX, 23, 24)

90 As well as women (*strī*), Brāhmaṇas and persons devoid of an organ of sense (*vikalas*).

91. न मज्जनीयं स्त्रीबालं धर्मशास्त्रविशारदैः ।
रोगिणश्चापि वृद्धाश्च पुमांसो ये च दुर्बलाः ॥ (N I, 313)

92 Women (*strī*), feeble persons (*durbala*), persons afflicted by calamity (*kliṣṭa*) and other (cf. N. I, 214)

निरुत्साहान् रुजाक्लिष्टानार्तांश्च न निमज्जयेत् ।
सद्यो म्रियन्ते मज्जन्तः स्वल्पप्राणा हि ते स्मृताः ॥

Also Vi (IX. 29) states

न श्लेष्मव्याध्यर्दितानां भीरूणां श्वासकासिनामम्बुजीविनां चोदकम् ।

93. न कुष्ठ्यसमर्थलोहकाराणामग्निर्देय ॥ (Vi IX, 25)

94. As well as lepers (*kuṣṭhin*) and others

95. सद्यो म्रियन्ते मज्जन्तः स्वल्पप्राणा हि ते स्मृताः (N. I,314)

hand the ordeal by water should not be administered to those persons who 'gain their subsistance from water'[96], for example, to divers because for them diving would not be an ordeal.

The Dharmaśāstras, having in mind the feebleness of the persons to whom they usually accord special privileges, state that these persons, if not completely exempt from ordeals[97], should be, at least, submitted to such an ordeal in which their feebleness is not a handicap, that is to the ordeal by balance[98] which consists in double weighing before and after exhortations[99].

96. न श्लेष्मव्याध्यर्दितानां भीरूणां श्वासकासिनामम्बुजीविनां चोदकम् ॥ (Vi. IX. 29)

97. As ordered by N. (I,250) and Kāty. (427).

98 As ordered by Y. (II, 98), Vi. (IX, 23, 24), and N. (quoted in Vīr. *ad* Y. II,98, p. 536, translated by J. Jolly in N. Quotations VI,8, in the Vulgata, I,258, *ad* N. I,256, p. 112, translated by J. Jolly in N. Quotations VI,8, in the Vulgata, I,258, *ad* N. I,256, p.112, translated by J. Jolly in N. Quotations VI,10).

99. A full description of this ordeal is to be found in P. V. Kane's *History of Dhārmas'as-tra,* Vol. III, pp. 369-370 . 'A sacrificial tree (such as *khadira* or *udumbara*) should be cut to the accompaniment of Vedic mantras (employed in making a sacrificial post) Two wooden posts made of that tree should support a transverse beam (called *akṣa*). The posts should be fixed in the ground, the part above the ground being four cubits and that below being two cubits. This frame should face the east (i.e. the posts must be in the south and north). Then the beam of the balance was to be made from the same tree and was to be suspended from the transverse beam of the frame by means of a hook. Three iron rings were to be fastened to the beam of the balance, two at the end and one in the middle for suspending the balance from the transverse beam by means of a chain or string. Two scales were to be suspended at the two ends of the beam by hooks and strings from the iron rings fixed at the ends of the beam On the two sides of the balance there should be two arches in which the scales should move and which should be ten *aṅgulas* higher than the balance. There should be two perpendicular pendants made of clay hanging down from the arches and touching the upper surface of the balance. In the pan to the west the *s'odhya* should be placed and weighed again t clay, bricks and stones placed in the other pan. Then traders or goldsmiths or braziers should examine the balance and bring it on a level with the two pendants hanging down from the arches and examine the perfect horizontality of the beam of the balance by spilling a little water on the beam. When the person sitting in one pan is equal in weight to the materials (clay etc) in the other, a line should be drawn with chalk by the experts on the arch (to show the exact position of the pans). Then the man is made to get down from the pan and he is to invoke the balance as stated in Y. II, 101-102, 'O balance, you are the abode of truth, you were created by the gods for this purpose, declare the truth, free me from this (cloud of) suspicion. Mother ! if I am a sinner then take me lower, if pure take me upwards' The person is then to hear exhortations about the result of untruth after putting the writing on his head (vide N. IV, 276 and VI. X, 9), then he is again to be placed in the pan to the accompaniment of invocations (N. IV, 278-279, VI. X, 10-11). A worthy *brāhmaṇa* learned in astronomy is to calculate the time of five *palas* or *Vinādīs* (A *vinādī* is the time required for reciting 60 long syllables and 60 *vinādīs* make one *ghaṭikā* So five *vinādīs* will be equal to two minutes). Then

The few examples, quoted above, indicate that according to the Dharmaśāstras and Smṛtis, and, in particular, according to Kauṭilya's *Artha śāstra*, far reaching privileges in legal, fiscal, and penal matters were accorded in ancient India to those persons who were considered as being under the special protection of the State. It must, however, be emphasized that not only infants (*bāla, poganḍa*), aged persons (*vṛddha, sthavira*), persons afflicted with disease (*vyādhita, rogin, ātura*), helpless persons (*anātha*) and distressed persons (*vyasanin, ārta*) are the persons to whom these privileges were accorded; they are more numerous, but the persons mentioned above[100] are those who are cited most frequently in the Dharmaśāstras, Smṛtis and Arthaśāstras.

his weight is again to be marked. If the person goes up (i.e. is found lighter than what he formerly weighed) he is declared innocent (acc. to the com. on N. IV, 283, V. p 60, Dīpakalika on Y. II,102); if he weighs the same or goes down (i e, weighs more) he is guilty Then the person concerned is to distribute gifts to the judge, the brahmaṇas and sacrificial priests and take leave of the deities invoked. Bṛh. (SBE, Vol. 33 p. 317 v. 19) states that he who weighs the same should be weighed once more. If the pan or the beam or the hooks break or the ropes give way owing to some visible cause then the procedure was to be repeated, but if the breaking is due to an unseen cause or accident the person was to be declared guilty."

100. In particular in addition to women (*strī*).

The Temple of Viṣṇu at Bishenpur and later Temples of Manipur

By

MADHO SARUP VATS, *New Delhi.*

The Manipuris are divided into two tribes—the Kha-la-chais and the Mei-this. The Kha-la-chais or 'the children of the wide lake' were so called as they settled in the plains of the Manipur valley around the wide lake Log-tak. Mei-this or 'people of this land' were so denoted by the people of China as they came from Central China. The Kha-la-chais were the first cultured race in possession of the Manipur valley and being connected with the neighbouring kingdom of Kāmarūpa, their language is more akin to the Kāmarūpī tongue. They called themselves Viṣṇupurias (= ***Viṣṇupriyas***) being influenced by the Viṣṇu cult from very early times. They are believed to be the first ruling race of Manipur. Their capital town was named Viṣṇupura after their tutelary deity Viṣṇu. The Mei-this were the later immigrants. They were more akin to the Chinese or the Tais and their language and habits were more allied to the Mongolian or Bodo-Chinese group.

The list of Manipur kings is a continuous one beginning in A. D. 34 with king Pakhangba and ending in 1891 with Kulacandra and Tikendrajit. From this long list of kings may be singled out a few illustrious names-- Khowai-Tampak (154 A. D.) was a great patron of music and introduced cymbals, drums and other musical instruments into Manipur. Khongtakcha (765-799 A.D.), an ardent worshipper of Hari (Viṣṇu) requisitioned an army of Kāmarūpī soldiers into Manipur by establishing alliance with the Kāmarupa emperor. These soldiers mixed with the Khala-chais, made Viṣṇupura their headquarters and controlled the affairs of the Manipur State for several generations. They were designated as '*Viṣṇupriyas*' to distinguish them from the later Mei-this. Kayamba (1467-1475 A. D.) is another illustrious king of Manipur with whom we are concerned as he built the temple at Bishenpur. This king was not only successful in establishing alliance with the Tai king of Magaung for the security of his kingdom but was also responsible for the spread of Viṣṇu worship in Manipur. His ally, the Tai king, admiring his devotion to Viṣṇu, presented him with a Viṣṇu *cakra* which is believed to have been got for Kayamba from Sumatra or Java. King Kayamba installed the *cakra* in a temple at Bishenpur with due ceremony and requisitioned some 'Pao-bin' (=Pāvana ?) *brāhmaṇas* for the consecration of the temple and the worship of the *cakra*.

Viṣṇu Temple at Bishenpur, Manipur

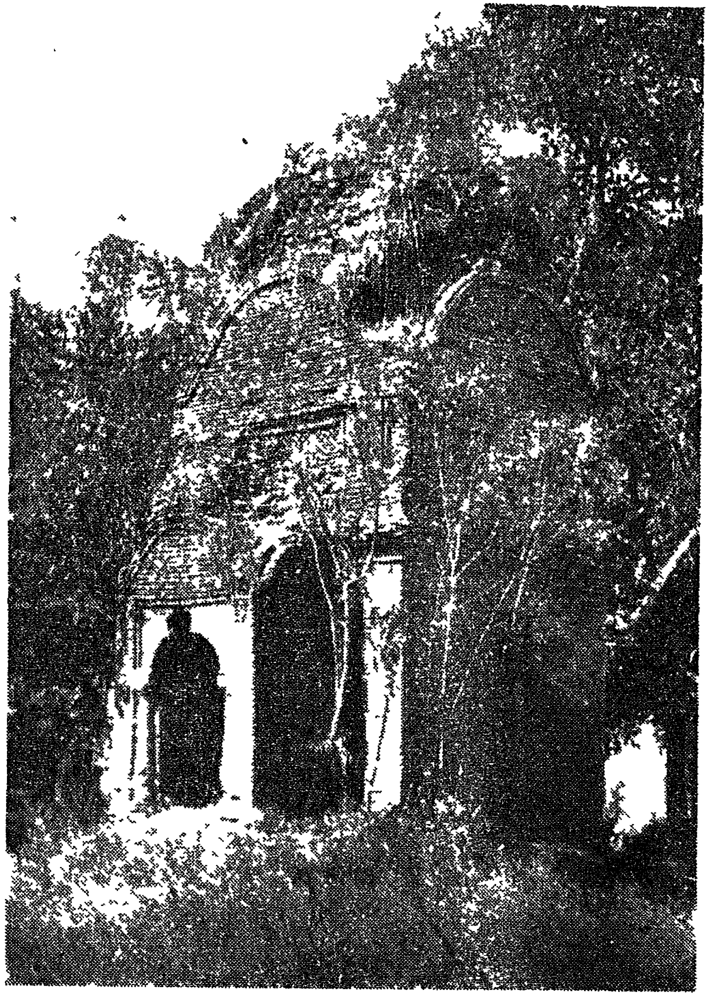


Photo No 595. *(View from south-east)*

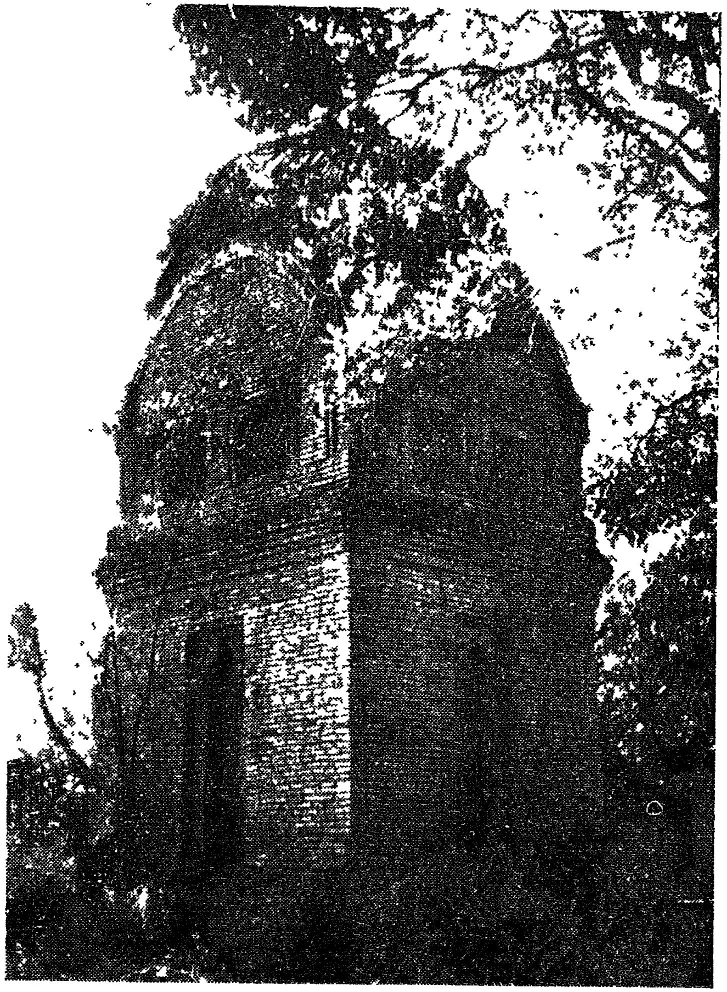


Photo No. 597. *(View from north-east)*

(Courtesy of the Archæological Survey of India, New Delhi)

The temple under description is in all probability the one referred to above. Its situation on a tableland, with the vast lake Log-tak to left and honey-combed cluster of hills to right (Photos Nos. 595 and 597) is quite picturesque while its architectural characteristics described below will enable it rank as an interesting temple in India.

The temple of Viṣṇu is a square brick structure of two storeys (Photo No. 595). It has a rectangular entrance porch on the south with a corbelled ceiling. Starting from the base, the plinth is first vertical and then stepped back in six receding courses which bring us to the floor level of the shrine. From this point rises, on each of the remaining sides, a tall and narrow false window vertical for the most part but spanned in the upper by means of several stepped out courses of corbelling (Photo No. 597). The end of the first storey is marked by a prominent cornice made of a series of courses which are first stepped out and then stepped back till the same vertical alignment of the lower storey is reached in order to proceed with the vertical part of the second storey. After only six courses in this alignment the second storey is stepped back and, again, carried up vertically to the height of the false perforated windows, two of which come on each side except the front where there is only one long window perforated only in the upper portion. These windows are framed by a pilaster on either side. The pilasters coming at the corners have only six courses above them to the point where one large bamboo-hut-type of arch spanning the full width of each side terminates and contiguous arches of the adjoining sides meet. These arches uniformly consist of seven courses one above the other. The space at each corner behind the meeting point of arches on two contiguous sides was presumably filled by a round headed corbelled pilaster, which in effect would have been a miniature copy of the dome above the sanctum (sketch). This would also have prevented the drum in the centre of the structure from being viewed at a much lower level at the corners. The dome was probably crowned with an inverted *ghaṭa* as shown in the sketch with a lotus design round the rim. This member has, however, completely disappeared.

Internally, the temple is 6′×8″ square, preceded by a porch 7′ long and 3′×8″ broad. The ceiling of the proch is spanned by eleven courses of corbelling, the joint between the last course being covered by the roofing bricks. Again, the entrance to the shrine through the porch is by a corbelled arch of 14 courses. The vertical portions of the walls of the cella are slightly tapered upwards and the portion corresponding to the dome that is seen on the outside is covered internally by the corbelled dome which is carried on about 2½ ft. of vertical drum rising from a circle obtained by filling the corners by means of corbelled pendentives. In order to light up the interior there is a small rectangular hole at the level of the dādo

on all sides but the entrance porch which now shows a regular arch. On closer examination it was seen that this is a later addition inconsistent with the corbelled nature of the whole structure. The corbelling at the entrance would, in actual effect, be something like what is seen on the false windows referred to above (Photo No. 597).

The temple is said to have been built by king Kayamba (1467–1506 A.D). in about 1475 A. D. when he received a disc of Viṣṇu from a Tai king of China. The Tais had overrun this part in the middle of the 13th century A. D. King Kayamba was a strong devotee of Viṣṇu and fostered the Viṣṇu cult in this part of the country. At this time Viṣṇupura was the capital of the Manipur kings.

The mortar used in the construction is mud, but it is still in good condition. Unfortunately, the north side has sunk a little with the result that the lower storey has slightly inclined and a distinct bow-like effect is seen in the upper storey, the utmost inclination at the top being about 9″ out of the vertical. There is also a slight inclination of the upper storey on the east side. So far, this is the earliest known temple in Manipur. Structurally, it is suited to quick drainage of heavy rainfall and architecturally it seems to form a link between the Indian and the Further Indian types of temples and in particular the temples of Java called *Chandis*. Certain features of comparison present in the Bishenpur temple and the *Chandis* of Java are worth nothing here. For instance they are :—

1. Two storeyed brick structures with a narrow porch as in *Chandi* Punta Deva of the 7th century A. D[1].
2. Narrow porch with corbelled arch in Borobudur[2] of the 8th century A. D.
3. Ventilation holes as in *Chandi* Pawon of the 9th century A. D[3].

Situated as Viṣṇupura is at the extreme end of the Indian Peninsula such a type would only be expected as Manipur has, from times immemorial, been also the meeting ground of several races and cultures. Being one of the main land-routes of migrations and lying in close proximity to the theatres of cultures of the east, the west, the north and the south, Manipur shows such a fusion of cultures and races that 'it is no wonder that the Manipuris should appear to be Mongolian by features, Chinese by culture, Aryan by tradition, Naga by observance and Mithraic by faith'[4].

The worship of Viṣṇu is still by far the prevailing cult in Manipur. However, the worship of Hanumān is also found in the temple of Mahābalī

1. Gangoli, O. C *The Art of Java*, I pl.
2. Von KarlWith, *Java*, pl. 5.
3. Gangoli, *op. cit.*, fig. 1 facing p. 14.
4. Nath, R. M. : *The Background of Assamese Culture*, p. 86.

Image of Hanumān



Photo. No 613. *(Back view)*

(Courtesy of the Archæological Survey of India, New Delhi)

Image of S'iva



Photo No 617

Image of Garuḍa



Photo No. 618

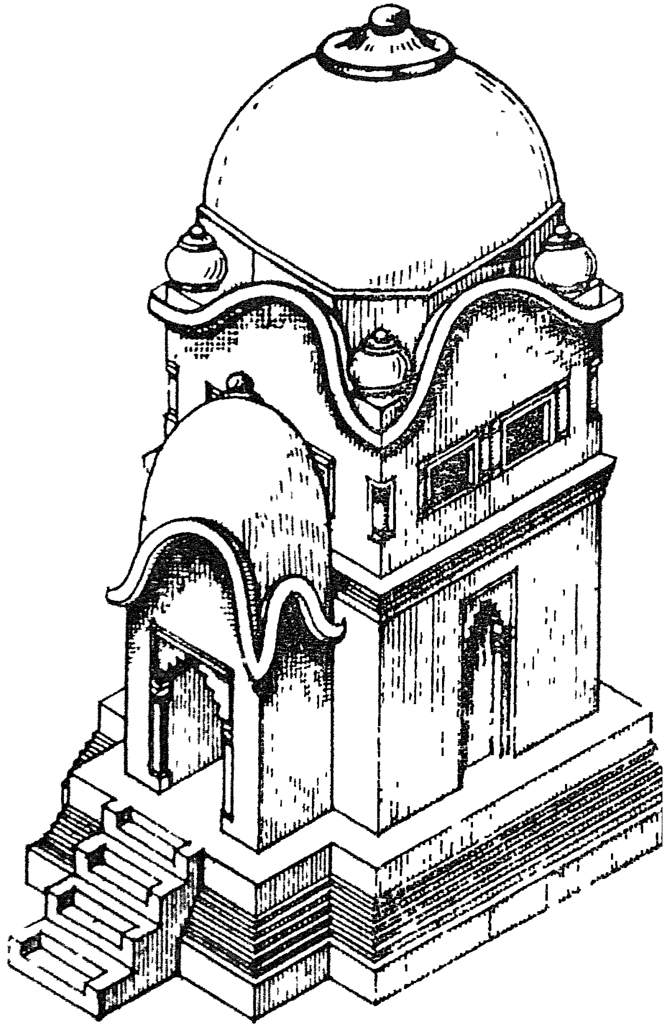
(Courtesy of [illegible]ological Survey of India, New Delhi)

Sena mahı Temple



Photo No. 622

Viṣṇu Temple



(Courtesy of the Archæological Survey of India, New Delhi)

Thakur, which was constructed by Gopal Singh *alias* Gharib Nawaz in 1725 A. D. This temple faces south and consists of a rectangular apartment with a bamboo-hut-type-of-roofing, of which the longer axis is east and west, and there is a small porch with a multifoil arched entrance on the south. The ridge of the roof is crowned by double *padma* in criss-cross pattern, which supports a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*.

In the compound of the Chief Commissioner's bungalow the following five sandstone sculptures are lying under a banyan tree :—

Of the images in the round, two are of Hanumān and two of Garuḍa. One of the images of Hanumān is zoomorphic and measures 45″ high above the pedestal, while the other is anthropomorphic and measures 25″ high. The latter shows half-closed eyes, moustaches and folded hands. In both cases, however, the left leg is folded behind and the right one in front in the typical kneeling posture of Garuḍa and Hanumān. It is interesting to record that the tail of Hanumān is shown erect on the rear side (Photo No. 513). The other two figures in the round are both of Garuḍa. The complete one measures 28″. The hands are broken and the face mutilated. The second image of Garuḍa measures 22″ high. In this case the head has disappeared. In both cases, specially in the latter one, the wings are clearly indicated (Photo No, 618).

Of these, the figures of Hanumān may be dated to the beginning of the 18th century and are more or less contemporary with the temple of Mahābalī Thākur referred to above and the next two of Garuḍa, which also appear to be co-eval, as would be explained by the prevalent cult of Viṣṇu whose vehicle Garuḍa is. The fifth relief of S'iva (PhotoNo. 617) would at first sight appear somewhat puzzling because S'iva's cult is almost unknown in Manipur. Its presence, however, may be explained by the fact that Jaya Siṁha (1760-1799 A. D.) gave his daughter Kuraṅganayanī in marriage to the Ahom king Rājeśvara Siṁha (1751-1769 A.D.) in order to secure an alliance with the Ahoms against the constant Burmese aggression. Kuraṅganayanī was accompanied by a band of sturdy Manipuris, who were allowed to settle near Sibsagar. Rajeśvara Siṁha, it may be stated, was such an ardent devotee of S'iva that he would not take his daily food unless the offerings sent by him on horseback from his palace in Sibsagar had actually been made to the S'iva *liṅga* installed in the temple at Nigriting about 50 miles north of Sibsagar. It may, therefore, be inferred that the worship of S'iva, which was popular in Assam and of which Rājeśvara Siṁha was an ardent devotee, though previously unknown in Manipur would appear to have been due to Assamese influence in the wake of Kuraṅganayanī's marriage.

Later still there is an interesting small temple ascribed to Senamahi[5].

5. 'The Manipuris are now all Vaiṣṇavas, but the influences of other faiths that

This was built by Mahārāja Nara Siṁha in 1844 A. D., and since 1891 is being used as a Magazine by the Manipur Force, now Manipur Rifles. The temple faces south. It is an octagonal structure raised on a 4 ft. high plinth and crowned by a pyramidal octagonal spire (Photo No. 622). On the inside, however, each side of the octagon converges to form the dome. Lately an entrance has been pierced in the east side and a rectangular room added to provide additional accommodation.

Still later, another temple type is represented by the temples of Leimapokpa Keirungba, General Thangal's temple and Tikendrajit's temple. They were constructed by Leimapokpa Keirungba, the chief Engineer of Mahārāja Sir Chandra Kirti, father of Tikendrajit Senapati, by Major General Thangal, who was the General of Sura Chandra and Kula Chandra in the years 1886-91 A. D. and by Tikendrajit in 1891 A. D respectively. In plan each temple consists of a square hall in the centre with a *pradakshināpatha* round it and is entered from the south. This is a new type of temple different alike from the Bengali-hut-type-of-roof and from the octagonal roof of the Senamahi temple Again, all these are quite different from the two storeyed dome temple of Vishenpur constructed by king Kayamba in the latter part of the 15th century.

flourished earlier have not fully disappeared. Thus Koubru, Senamahi, Thanjing, the gods of rain and thunder are still worshipped in the old fashion. The Lai-haroba or the gods dance is not forgotten', Nath, R. M. · *The Background of Assamese Culture, p. 87.*

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Errata

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3	6	Kuḷampu	Kuḷampu
37	32	prefixes	perfixes
44	7	prācīnāvītin	prācīnāvīti
66 fn.	6	अनुष्टुप्	अनुष्प्
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80	27	bhāṣya	bhāyṣa
88	20	*Yātumāvat*	*Yatumāvat*
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